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TRADING DOWN
David Moberg

THE HUNTING OF DR. CRAFT
Judy Jackson and Debbie Nathan

THE FIGHT TO SUCCEED ARAFAT
Graham Usher

MARTYRDOM, ISRAELI-STYLE
Baruch Kimmerling

EMINEM: RAPPING ON EMPTY
Jody Rosen

THE RIGHT'S ASSAULT ON KOFI ANNAN

by IAN WILLIAMS

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LETTERS

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

SAVE YOUR CONFEDERATE MONEY...

Manchester, NJ

■ I vehemently oppose the efforts of those who would have Vermont secede from the union [Kirkpatrick Sale, "Blue State Secession," Dec. 13]. I urge instead that we admit our mistake of the 1860s. We should admit that we were wrong and let—nay, urge—the South to secede now. DANIEL D. SCHECHTER

A LITTLE TEXAS BARBECUE

Silver Spring, Md.

■ In addition to the Western election bright spots cited by John Nichols ["Democrats Score in the Rockies," Dec. 6], we might note these: Voters in Bush's own Texas district re-elected embattled Congressman Chet Edwards, a Democrat with a strong church-state separation record. And South Dakota voters, while boosting Bush and dashing Daschle, also defeated a referendum proposal to provide tax aid to faith-based schools—and did so most strongly in those counties that went big for Bush. That brings to twenty-six the number of statewide referendums between 1966 and 2004 in which voters rejected tax aid to faith-based schools by an average margin of two to one. EDD DOERR, *president Americans for Religious Liberty*

ANOTHER BRIGHT SPOT IN TEXAS

Dallas

■ Thank you so much for Katha Pollitt's column on abortion funds ["Subject to Debate," Dec. 20], an almost underground way of putting pro-choice beliefs into practice and helping real women in real need. Here in Dallas, a small group of women has recently established the Texas Equal Access Fund, one of only two abortion funds in Texas. We have already been overwhelmed with requests for assistance. For more information or to make a donation, contact us at teafund@earthlink.net. GRETCHEN DYER

SAVED!

New York City

■ All I can say is, thank God the Republicans saved us from the gays. Like millions of Americans, I was terrified that they were going to take over our churches, our chapels, our very souls, if we didn't squash them like bugs. Thank God for fearless, moral men like Karl Rove, who masterfully fueled fears to defend us from millions of those evil gays. Thank God I finally can say I live in a moral America, despite the unemployment, the huge deficit, the unaffordable healthcare, the stream of body bags from Iraq. We're safe from the gays now, thank God, and that's all that matters, isn't it? MITCH RUSTAD

LAS VEGAS WENT FOR KERRY

Las Vegas

■ As a teacher and scholar of Nevada history, I welcome Sasha Abramsky's "Why Bush Scored in Nevada" [Dec. 6], which takes the state seriously and is very enlightening. But Abramsky's focus was mainly on Reno. Las Vegas is more than four times larger, with the vast majority of the state's voters, especially Latino and union voters. What he found true of these voters—that Republicans made inroads on the hypocritical "morals" issue—is also true here, but that's only the beginning. Nevada's economy is in better shape than in many other places, especially in Las Vegas, and this clearly influenced the vote: Kerry won Clark County, where Las Vegas is located, but not by enough votes to overcome Republicans in Reno's Washoe County and the overwhelmingly conservative rural counties. Another point: Nevada has the nation's fastest-growing population of people 55 and older, who tend to skew more conservative, even if they're registered Democrats. MICHAEL GREEN

Las Vegas

■ Sasha Abramsky notes that the head of the Nevada ACLU asked him "not to quote his staff making anti-Bush comments" for fear that his organization might "suffer the same fate as the NAACP"—heightened scrutiny of its tax-exempt status after its president made supposedly anti-Bush speeches. We at the Nevada ACLU never muzzle our staff. We do, however, expect that they will adhere to our basic philosophy when speaking in their ACLU capacity. I was simply explaining that the ACLU is steadfastly nonpartisan. We are not nonpartisan because we are afraid of government retribution and certainly not because we are worried about our nonprofit status. We are nonpartisan because, well, because we are nonpartisan. We fight for core principles and fundamental rights regardless of whose political ox is being gored, and that was as true during this last campaign season as it has ever been.

GARY PECK, *executive director ACLU of Nevada*

BLUE LAND OF BEULAH

Pittsburgh

■ Thomas Geoghegan's "Take It to the Blue States" [Nov. 29] is the best article I've seen on practical left strategy in a long, long time. Enough talk—let's do it! There are many people in the Rust Belt who are ex-union members and pro-labor and would be very interested in becoming associate members of the Steel Workers, UE, Teamsters, etc.

Where do I sign up? RAY GRIFFITH

Yonkers, NY

■ Thomas Geoghegan thinks "labor can grow on friendly terrain" toward a blue state social-democratic workers' paradise. Geoghegan's proposal ignores the accelerating flight of capital from high-safety-net to unionbusting states and nations. Federal tax dollars are being massively transferred not only from public to religion-based distribution networks but also from the poor and middle class to the super-wealthy and favored multinationals, and from the blue to the red states. And bondholders will eventually require Reagan-deficit-type austerity budgets.

Therefore, our trade unions and other progressive organizations (including progressive religious institutions) need urgently to develop not just Geoghegan's union-based counseling associations but capital-generating enterprises like those that enabled workers' survival under Franco's similarly corporatist fascist regime in Spain. Worker-owned cooperatives and community development banks could help create, and prevent the flight of, locally generated profits.

We must also dedicate blue state resources to technology research—as California voters just did for stem-cell technology—to reinvent the tech manufacturing base necessary to preserve scientific and technical education. And it wouldn't hurt to learn from Argentina and lay the legal groundwork for workers' cooperatives to expropriate bankrupt factories.

JULIE WEINER

GEOGHEGAN REPLIES

Chicago

■ The blue states would boom, not bust. According to this year's World Economic Forum survey of 101 countries, three of the five most "competitive" are Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Social democracies raise living standards. And often they tend to be more competitive. It's a shame that in America even some on the left can't seem to grasp this. TOM GEOGHEGAN

WAFDI GOALS

New York City

■ Laura Flanders and Laura Ross's "Antifeminists Hit Iraq" [Nov. 15] paints all Iraqi women's groups as the Stepford wives of the various US groups, susceptible to parroting the first ideology that may reach them. This impression is the true antifeminist hit. It dismisses the intelligence and independence of many Iraqi women who have given their lives to push for women's equality and political power in a new Iraq. Women, including members of the Women's Alliance for a Democratic Iraq (WAFDI), organized across religious and ethnic lines to ob-

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EDITORIALS

Seeds of Hope

At the close of 2004, progressives can be forgiven for feeling they've found themselves in a particularly bleak midwinter. When they gather on New Year's Eve, the term "good riddance" will doubtless accompany reflections on a year that saw America re-elect a President who gave us the Iraq quagmire, record trade and budget deficits and the steady erosion of our civil liberties. But even an *annus horribilis* can produce enough progress to inspire hope for better days.

Election day brought down-ticket signals that a more populist politics may be in the offing. In Vermont, the state's Progressive Party won six legislative seats. San Francisco elected an activist Green, Ross Mirkarimi, to its board of supervisors and affirmed the commitment of the city that challenged the Bush Administration's anti–gay marriage crusade to maintain its radical opposition to the politics of fear. Across the country, seventeen graduates of Camp Wellstone, inspired by Paul and Sheila Wellstone's ideals, won races for the state legislature, school board and city council, while Cincinnati voters overturned a charter amendment that prohibited city officials from passing any laws aimed at protecting gays and lesbians.

In New York David Soares, a young activist attorney who ran against the draconian Rockefeller drug laws on the Democratic and Working Families Party lines, was elected Albany County District Attorney. The Los Angeles City Council unanimously adopted the nation's most aggressive antisweatshop ordinance after two years of lobbying by local unions, sweatshop workers, clergy and activists, and Florida and Nevada voters overwhelmingly passed initiatives to raise the minimum wage.

Western states saw a Democratic surge, as the party gained control of previously Republican legislative chambers and statewide seats; gains included a new US Senator, Ken Salazar, in Colorado. Salazar, a Latino, will join Illinois's Barack Obama, who will be the only African-American in the Senate after an absence of blacks for six years.

The two will enter a Congress where challenging Bush will be hard but not impossible. Patriot Act II legislation stalled in the House, as the courts began to challenge the Administration's suspension of due process for Guantánamo detainees. Farm groups and organic-food activists prevented the food-processing industry from derailing country-of-origin labeling regulations—a major victory over special interests. In early December Louisiana voters elected Democrat Charlie Melancon, who campaigned against the Central America Free Trade Agreement, which will face a fight in the next Congress. Such fights could be made harder for the Administration if its main muscle on Capitol Hill—House majority leader Tom DeLay of Texas—is out of commission; DeLay is battling to keep ahead of investigators and indictments.

Major media began to show signs in the course of the year of recognizing that they had been gamed by the Bush Administration, with the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and CBS's *60 Minutes* apologizing in their own way for their failures of skepticism before the invasion of Iraq. That is thanks in no small part to criticism by media watchdog groups and to truth-telling by documentary filmmakers like Michael Moore and Robert Greenwald. Also during 2004 progressives created Air America, part of an alternative to the right-wing echo chamber.

In the waning days of 2004, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld—whose ouster we urged eighteen months ago—finally appeared to be losing his aura of arrogant invincibility, as a majority of the public told pollsters he should lose his job. Come to think of it, a year that caused Rumsfeld and DeLay as much discomfort as 2004 did is worthy of a toast.

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COMMENT

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Trading Down

In less than five years, the garment industry in poor, war-ravaged Cambodia has more than doubled into a $1.5 billion industry employing 200,000 workers and generating nearly three-fourths of the country's exports. This rapid growth was stimulated by an unusual 1999 bilateral trade agreement that increased Cambodia's share of the US market as the government made progress protecting labor rights. The agreement—monitored by the International Labor Organization—gave unions freedom to organize one-fourth of the garment industry into independent unions, whose strikes in 2000 boosted industry wages by about 25 percent. Now the small yet tangible progress workers have made, and many of their jobs as well, are in jeopardy.

Ironically, the threat to poor countries like Cambodia comes from a change in international trade regulations they championed for years. Many of them are having second thoughts.

Since 1974 garment and textile exports to the United States have been governed by the Multi-Fiber Agreement (MFA), which gave developing countries quotas for specific products exported to the United States and Europe. Designed to protect garment and textile industries in rich countries as they adjusted to growing imports, it spread apparel production to a larger number of poor countries. When the World Trade Organization was established ten years ago, the rich countries—in exchange for new rules protecting intellectual property and investment rights—agreed to phase out the MFA, which has cost developing countries potential jobs.

On December 31 the last of the quotas ends. But contrary to the expectations of a decade ago, many poor countries will actually lose millions of jobs when the quotas expire. China, the new low-wage industrial superpower, is expected to quickly capture the lion's share of the global apparel and textile industry. China will not simply take jobs from North Carolina and Los Angeles; over the past four years the United States has lost 350,000 garment and textile jobs, and probably more than half the remaining 700,000 are at risk. Even more devastating, China is likely to displace large parts of the apparel industry that is crucial for many developing countries, like Bangladesh (forecast to lose 1 million out of its 1.8 million apparel jobs), Mexico (where 90 percent of export jobs are at high risk) and poor African countries like Mauritius and Lesotho (84 percent at high risk).

Within a few years, the World Bank and WTO estimate, China will capture half of world clothing exports—double its current share—and make 50 percent of all clothing exported to the United States, up from 16 percent. But recent experience in markets without quotas suggests that China could quickly take 70 percent of the US market. Although some high-end, quick-turnaround apparel and textile work will stay in the advanced countries and nearby lower-wage suppliers, like Mexico and Eastern Europe, China will dominate overwhelmingly.

China has enormous advantages. It has a huge untapped labor force and extremely low, if not always the world's lowest, wages—averaging from 15 to 86 cents an hour in the garment industry, by various estimates. It also has raw materials; its own textile industry; a massive influx of capital, modern technology and manage-

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ment expertise (much from Hong Kong and Taiwan); a well-developed infrastructure in coastal industrial zones; and the ability to provide comprehensive manufacturing packages to the huge retailers that dominate the global industry. Those companies want to get products from a few countries, not dozens. China's currency, linked to the rapidly weakening dollar, is said to be undervalued by at least 40 percent, making its exports artificially cheaper.

China also suppresses independent unions and maintains an internal passport system that deprives migrant workers, who form the bulk of the export-manufacturing workforce, of many basic rights. According to an AFL-CIO trade petition prepared by Columbia University law professor Mark Barenberg, "repression of workers' rights lowers Chinese wages by 47 to 86 percent."

After years of demanding an end to the MFA, now the apparel and textile industries, labor unions and governments of many developing countries are deeply worried. Some want continued quotas or at least WTO monitoring of their adjustment difficulties, but China—supported by India, which hopes to be a post-quota winner, too—is fighting any revisions. The US industry wants temporary "safeguards" against surges in Chinese imports; the Bush Administration has approved some safeguards—for bras and socks, for example—and is considering others. Free-trade enthusiasts decry such protection but rarely demand meaningful income support, retraining and community redevelopment for workers who lose. In any case, the Administration is not likely to restrict China much, since it is more aligned with Wal-Mart than with manufacturers and depends heavily on China to finance US budget deficits (and thus Bush's tax cuts).

Recently China announced it would impose its own export tariffs, which it hopes will head off European and US restrictions, push its own industry toward high value-added products and mollify poor countries. It's a smart move, but the tariffs are unlikely to be high enough to alter the basic forecast.

The MFA debacle demonstrates dramatically why linking labor rights to trade would, ironically, help poor countries even more than the rich, since the poor have fewer alternatives in the race to the bottom. If workers could freely organize in China, garment workers in Cambodia and Mexico would be less vulnerable, and spending by Chinese workers with higher wages could support both Chinese and global growth. But developing countries have been pushed into a development model of repressing labor and exporting, mainly to the United States. Now with the United States suffering record trade and budget deficits, overextended consumer credit, stagnant wages and sluggish job growth, relying on the American market is even less sustainable. With so much American manufacturing already gone, it will be harder even for a weaker dollar to reverse the trade deficit by expanding exports, and there is no domestic alternative to many imports.

The coming massive shift of garment and textile production also shows vividly why "free trade" by itself is not the path to development. With a huge supply of cheap labor for a global industry dominated by companies like Wal-Mart that intensify pressures to cut costs, there are two ways to distribute global production. "One is the way we're heading—no rules, let the price mechanism do it. That will lead to the most brutal competition imaginable," says Mark Levinson, trade economist for UNITE HERE, which represents US garment and textile workers. But there could be rules that reward countries and companies that respect worker rights and raise living standards, both crucial to comprehensive development. This was the neglected path for trade and development initially laid out after World War II for the proposed International Trade Organization.

For the moment, there is little hope for comprehensive new rules. Likewise, despite waves of strikes in China in recent years and even stirrings at the government-controlled All-China Federation of Trade Unions, there are no immediate prospects for gains by Chinese workers. Cambodia hopes companies now contracting there—like Gap, Liz Claiborne and Nike—will calculate that sourcing from a country trying, however imperfectly, to protect labor rights is worth the extra cost. That strategy also depends on the success of pressures on those firms from consumers and activists not to run to China. Although minuscule, a few companies hope to carve out a "clean clothes" niche market and set an example for the industry. For example, after a Taiwanese owner closed his El Salvador factory because workers formed a union, an international campaign helped the workers reopen as Just Garments, which is partly worker-owned. At the retail end, No Sweat Apparel, a fledgling firm and also a Just Garments client, sells sneakers and clothes made only in unionized shops in developing countries.

But the prospect of the China threat is already taking its toll with plant closings and erosion of worker rights. Governments in the Philippines and Bangladesh recently reduced labor standards to compete, and in Cambodia two prominent union leaders were assassinated earlier this year. That is just the beginning of the grisly toll facing some of the world's most vulnerable workers and poorest countries in the years to come. DAVID MOBERG

David Moberg writes frequently on labor for The Nation.

Wrong for Civil Rights

When Mary Frances Berry resigned as chair of the Commission on Civil Rights on December 7, the media's harsh, fleeting spotlight on Berry's purported combativeness distracted readers from the real—bad—news: George W. Bush's appointment of Gerald Reynolds as Berry's successor. Reynolds, 41, a Kansas City energy company lawyer, had fifteen minutes of fame almost three years ago when Bush nominated him as assistant secretary of education for civil rights. Civil rights groups and advocates for women and for the disabled protested, appalled at the thought of Reynolds—fierce opponent of affirmative action, critic of the gender-equity law Title IX and of the Americans With Disabilities Act, and unqualified by any measure—occupying a visible civil rights enforcement post. But in March 2002 Bush made an end run around the confirmation process and appointed Reynolds while Congress was in recess.

Reynolds's term at the Education Department expired in 2003. Bush avoided a reappointment fight, stored Reynolds in the Justice Department and then Reynolds returned to Kansas City to work, as he had before, as an energy company lawyer.

Gerald Reynolds has never litigated a civil rights case. Nor

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COMMENT

has he ever held an academic appointment in law, public policy or education. He possesses no record of scholarship on matters of jurisprudence, education or social policy. He has no sustained professional work experience in public education or in high-poverty communities. What he does have: a long history of calling civil rights leaders names while attacking civil rights laws and policies.

Congress created the Commission on Civil Rights in 1957 to investigate complaints and issue reports on civil rights matters. It was once considered the government's conscience, respected even by opposing lawmakers. Under Berry, the commission had a 5-to-3 liberal majority. But with Berry's replacement—as well as the appointment of the conservative black lawyer Ashley Taylor to replace progressive Latino Cruz Reynoso and the elevation of commissioner Abigail Thernstrom to vice chair—conservatives are on top with a 6-to-2 majority.

In 1997 Reynolds called affirmative action "a big lie," a "corrupt system of preferences...that discriminate in favor of certain groups at the expense of others." He's derided organizations that brought us *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Voting Rights Act as a "civil rights industry," questioned the appropriateness of Title IX and suggested that the Americans With Disabilities Act might stymie economic development in black communities. He's also expressed suspicion about a widely used standard in civil rights law called "disparate impact," under which seemingly neutral policies—such as high-stakes tests and zero-tolerance discipline—can come under review for having disproportionately negative effects on racial minorities.

Before his Education Department appointment, Reynolds was president of the Center for New Black Leadership. Despite its name, CNBL doesn't train new black leaders. It advocates abolishing affirmative action and establishing "free market" solutions in education and fuzzily defined "personal responsibility." During his tenure at CNBL, Reynolds testified against the appointment of Bill Lann Lee, President Clinton's choice for assistant secretary for civil rights. Critiquing Lee's work at the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, Reynolds said, "For the last thirty years, traditional civil rights groups have used civil rights laws as a weapon to extract benefits for racial minorities and women, no matter what the costs."

Reynolds's appointment doesn't require Senate confirmation. The commission has no enforcement power and, currently, little everyday influence. But his position vests him with authority to speak on behalf of a government agency and twist its founding purpose. When a right-wing ideologue gets to set the terms of public discussion about civil rights, we'd best restate what civil rights means: the recognition that racial discrimination played a central role in the development of this nation and its institutions; the understanding that past discrimination resonates in the present; the acknowledgment that millions of Americans, a disproportionate share of them black or Latino, endure in persistent poverty and in isolation from mainstream opportunity, and in conditions too brutal and pervasive for them to easily overcome solely on their own; the clearsighted conclusion that we've got far to go before there's equal opportunity in America. And we'd better recognize what civil rights is not: an unregulated "free" market or shaming fingers pointed at racial minorities and the poor. SUSAN EATON

Susan Eaton writes extensively about civil rights and education. Her book about a landmark desegregation case and a classroom in Hartford, Connecticut, is forthcoming from Algonquin Books.

CALVIN TRILLIN

On the Reappointment of John Snow as Secretary Of the Treasury

The people in the know said Snow
Was someone who would have to go.
The dollar's at an all-time low.
On Wall Street, numbers fail to grow.
And jobs have not begun to flow
Enough to help the working Joe.
The White House leakers weren't gung-ho
On Snow. They called him just so-so—
A schmo who operates below
A level that is apropos
For one whose job it is to know
Just how to make the markets glow.
But as Snow packed his portmanteau,
The White House said he'd undergo
A second four-year term. Although
It might be nice to help our dough
And mitigate the debt we owe
And take the market to, not fro,
Big changes we will now forgo.
It's loyalty Snow has to show.
Snow says he thinks, like Bush & Co.,
That taxing rich folks is *de trop*.
Unlike O'Neill, he won't say no
To cockamamie schemes they throw
His way. He's Bush's fiscal ho.
So maybe we'll see Bush bestow,
In one more night-is-day tableau,
A Freedom Medal on this schmo.

Cincinnati's 'Beacon'

"Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last!" Nope, not the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This time it's a frumpy white man, depicted by editorial cartoonist Jim Borgman in the July 22 *Cincinnati Enquirer*, facing Cincinnati's new National Underground Railroad Freedom Center with arms raised, unshackled from his ball and

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Examine the many-layered pleasures of James Joyce's modern epic, *Ulysses*

in 24 vibrant recorded lectures discussing this landmark novel

T. S. Eliot summed up Joyce's classic work, *Ulysses*, best when he called it "the most important expression which the present age has found...." Perhaps it's a book whose pleasures you've always wanted to savor, but never quite worked yourself up to reading.

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COMMENT

chain of "'Racist City' stigma." As the cartoon suggests, Cincinnati—scene of urban unrest three years ago following the shooting death of a black teenager by police—still doesn't get it.

The $110 million Freedom Center, billed as a "museum of conscience" and a "beacon of freedom for all people," opened August 23 with ceremonies featuring a Who's Who of celebrities, First Lady Laura Bush, national media play and a $1,000-a-plate fundraising dinner with 1,500 paying guests. The ceremonies did not go by without comment, however. As guests dined on gold-rimmed china and linen from Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck's canceled wedding, a few blocks away about 200 gathered on Fountain Square to view "The People's Freedom Center: A Living Museum of the Missing Pages of History and Contemporary Struggle." The photographs, paintings, posters and banners, which show how the fight for freedom among Cincinnati's poor, blacks and other disenfranchised groups is a constant battle, rebuked the government/corporate orthodoxy that the Freedom Center signals all is well in Cincinnati.

In fact, Cincinnati remains the country's eighth most segregated large city. Nine blocks from the Freedom Center lie communities of devastating poverty. Police brutality and racial profiling occur too frequently. Homeless men, women and children survive amid changing city policies that turn toward the punitive. In May 2003 the City Council passed its second law on panhandling, this time requiring panhandlers to register and carry a license. In November 2004 the National Coalition for the Homeless ranked Cincinnati as the "third meanest city in the United States," up from sixth last year. In the city's Empowerment Zone, composed of nine neighborhoods primarily of color, the black infant mortality rate ranges from 24 to 30 per thousand births, compared with a rate of 10 per thousand for the rest of the county in which Cincinnati sits. Children's Hospital, ranked eighth in the nation in pediatrics, lies in the center of the zone.

Because these conditions persist, a class-action racial profiling lawsuit was filed against the city in 2000; it resulted in the historic 2001 "Collaborative Agreement" among the Cincinnati Black United Front, the ACLU, the City of Cincinnati and the Fraternal Order of Police to improve police-community relations. A boycott of downtown travel and tourism, initiated in 2001 by a coalition of several groups, continues to this day. This past March the Center for Constitutional Rights called the boycott a "focal point of national attention in part because the fight against police brutality and misconduct, economic apartheid and political disenfranchisement in Cincinnati is one of the most important racial justice struggles in the country."

To his credit, Spencer Crew, CEO and executive director of the Freedom Center, says he wants the center to address these issues. But when asked how this might be accomplished, he offers the Freedom Center as a space for reflection and dialogue. Given Cincinnati's troubling racial climate, the answer appears evasive and more in line with the city-corporate stance of ignoring the boycott by waiting it out. City and corporate figures may say they are working to bring about change, but they have never sat down with boycotters to discuss their demands. That Cincinnati would build a Freedom Center now and then call for conversation strikes many as hypocritical.

In fact, corporations are throwing big money at the Freedom Center. Just as environmentally dangerous corporations underwrite Earth Day celebrations to greenwash their public image, so too are freedom-dubious corporations jumping to support the Freedom Center to improve their market share. Willing to spend millions to commemorate a struggle of the past, these forces show little interest in addressing the inequities of the present.

No one opposes a museum's recounting the sordid history of slavery and the underground railroad resistance against it. But the Freedom Center glosses over serious mention of the events of April 2001 and the continuing aftermath. In the center's designated "dialogue zone" visitors may "write" their thoughts and reflections, as long as they stay within the limits of the magnetic words provided by the center. Even more revealing is the Freedom Center's recently named "100 Everyday Freedom Heroes," a list that includes people one would expect, like Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela but that suffers from inexplicable absences, including Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Ella Baker and Malcolm X. Who makes the list? Cincinnati's own corporate mogul Carl Lindner, CEO of the American Financial Group, chief owner of the Cincinnati Reds, former owner of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and former CEO of Chiquita, which under his direction was the subject of investigations alleging bribery, tax evasion schemes and pesticide practices that harmed and sterilized banana workers.

The center's architecture and approach to exhibits, while competently handled, seem to play it safe for a setting investigating slavery and the struggle against it. This is far from the gripping architecture of the Holocaust museum in Washington, which powerfully reinforces its subject. Everywhere one looks the materials, colors, details and displays are muted, antiseptic. Nothing challenges. Meanwhile, the docents explain proudly that the imported-marble facades will bleach white over time, a chemical process that serves as an ironic metaphor for Cincinnati's identity and its new museum of conscience.

DAMON LYNCH III AND THOMAS A. DUTTON

Rev. Damon Lynch III is the pastor of New Prospect Baptist Church, and Thomas A. Dutton is the director of the Miami University Center for Community Engagement in Over-the-Rhine, both in Cincinnati.

Stanton's Wisdom

One afternoon in January 1892, in a packed convention hall in Washington, DC, the 76-year-old Elizabeth Cady Stanton rose from her seat to address the annual meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which she was president. She looked out at the few thousand faces before her, many belonging to people she'd been gazing at for more than forty years. She was the oldest living radical feminist among them: the first to demand suffrage, the first to denounce the laws regarding marriage and divorce, the first to declare organized religion the sworn enemy of equality for women. Now, she was stepping down from the presidency. This would be her

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EDITORIAL

Jack Newfield

Our friend Jack Newfield, who died on December 20, was a fight fan. Although his heart was with the peace movement, his love for this violent sport was appropriate in a number of ways. First and foremost because he was himself a fighter—for the dispossessed, the underdog, the underclass; against racism, anti-Semitism, corruption, the powers that be.

Second, he wasn't merely a fighter; he was an infighter. He called himself an advocacy journalist, which meant he considered himself a participatory journalist who believed in participatory politics. He investigated and reported, but he also conspired and connived on behalf of his causes, his friends, his heroes (from Bobby Kennedy to Muhammad Ali), against his public enemies (the ten worst judges, Don King, Rudy Giuliani).

Third, even as he held his own fight nights showing grainy tapes of boxing classics on the ground floor of his Charlton Street home in Manhattan, he crusaded for reform, writing a piece in this magazine that set forth practical proposals to clean up the sport he called "my guilty pleasure."

Jack was principally known for his career at the *Village Voice* and his later columns and investigations for the *Daily News* (which he quit in 1990 because he refused to cross a picket line) and the *New York Post* (from which he was fired) and for his many books. But *The Nation* is proud to have played a modest role in the launching of his book-writing career. As he tells it in his memoir, *Somebody's Gotta Tell It*, in 1965 *Nation* editor Carey McWilliams invited him to lunch and asked him to cover the upcoming march in Washington against the Vietnam War. "I agreed and wrote the piece that led to my first book, *A Prophetic Minority*, about the origins of 1960s campus radicalism," he recalled.

Carey invited Jack to recruit younger writers for *The Nation*, and in his memoir, *The Education of Carey McWilliams*, he describes Jack as opening a door to a new generation. Many years later, in June 2001, we heard that the Rupert Murdoch–owned *New York Post*'s new Australian editor, Col Allan, had fired Jack, the paper's only liberal columnist. We got on the phone and from that day on Jack started writing pieces for *The Nation* and books for Nation Books. He wrote on right-wing judicial nominees, New York pols, Tom DeLay, Bush's neglect of Jack's beloved city. Perhaps most characteristic was the article "How the Other Half Still Lives," which led off with the lines, "The poor are still largely invisible to the complacent majority. Most Americans don't see the everydayness of poverty." He proceeded to show them.

We already miss Jack, his passion, his politics, his wit, the gaggle of Runyonesque characters who trailed in his wake. Jack had a way of romanticizing his enthusiasms. "My Brooklyn," he wrote, "was the working-class Brooklyn of the Dodgers, Democrats, unions, optimism and pluralism." His favorite sport he called "a ballet with blood," "geometry with guile." He believed, in the words of the old Wobbly slogan (and title of one of his books) in "bread and roses too." And given his gritty, passionate reporting, it is hard not to believe with him.

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Sidney Hillman, founder and president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (a predecessor union of UNITE HERE).

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JONATHAN SCHELL

Intervention

Osama bin Laden has been thinking. Perhaps he has a lot of time to think in his cave, or four-star hotel, or wherever he is. And like so many who think a lot, he wants to share his thoughts. Just before the election, of course, he appeared on videotape, in golden robes, to analyze the political situation in the United States. He was discursive, almost garrulous. He explained why he hadn't attacked Sweden. He analyzed the Patriot Act. He expatiated upon the US budget deficit. Within the mass murderer, it seemed, there was a pundit struggling to get out, as if he hoped for a spot on *The Capital Gang* or *Meet the Press*.

Now he has spoken again, this time on an audiotape that runs for more than an hour. He unsurprisingly commends the guerrillas who recently attacked the US Consulate in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The tape appeared a scant ten days after the attack, in his fastest response to an event in the news. What followed, however, was unexpected. He analyzed the fall of dictators, from Ceausescu of Romania onward. And he called on the Saudi leaders to carry on nonviolent revolution of the kind the world has seen a good deal of recently. He was eager, he said, to head off an armed revolution by Saudi youth.

The interest in nonviolence, in any shape or form, is, to put it mildly, new for bin Laden. Is it possible that while reading the latest news and thinking about revolutions, he had also taken note of the highly successful nonviolent movement against the stolen election in Ukraine? After the September 11 attack, bin Laden had famously asserted that if people are asked to choose between a weak horse and a strong horse, they'll choose the strong horse. After dealing his staggering blow, he was feeling like a strong horse. But in Ukraine, where, according to European Union observers and others, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich had stolen the victory from Viktor Yushchenko, the opposition seemed to be heading for victory without violence. Its methods were the polar opposite of his. Did he hope for something like it in Saudi Arabia? He indeed appeared to have timed the release of his tape to coincide with a demonstration against the rule of the Saudi princes in Riyadh. (As it happened, attendance was low, and no nonviolent, Ukrainian-style miracle got going.)

Elsewhere in the world, people were also pondering the meaning of the Ukrainian events. Russia had intervened strongly in favor of Yanukovich. The Kremlin had dispatched consultants to help him, and Russian President Vladimir Putin openly supported him during the campaign and then congratulated him on his faked electoral victory. Afterward, Stanislav Belkovsky, the president of the National Strategy Institute in Moscow and a critic of Putin, explained that Yanukovich had been a "creation of political consultants—a very popular principle in Russia today." After the defeat, one of those Moscow consultants showed his stripes when he commented, "All Yushchenko supporters are beasts and fascists." Russia had clearly tried to set the course of Ukrainian politics from without, and it had failed.

The United States has also been busy in Ukraine. In the past decade, it has spent some $58 million there, through organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy, which is funded by annual appropriations from Congress. Nongovernmental groups such as the Open Society have also been involved. In principle their intervention has been nonpartisan, but the boundary between support for a fair election and support for the candidate who is demanding fairness for himself (Yushchenko) is not easy to draw. According to testimony by Republican Representative Ron Paul of Texas at hearings of the House International Relations Committee, for example, some of the groups supported by American dollars were organizationally tied to Yushchenko. Process and result were linked. Nevertheless, one imposing fact stands out: Russia was helping a government steal an election while the Western-supported groups were opposing that theft.

Some have concluded from this story that while Russia was failing to determine the Ukrainian election, the West succeeded in this. For example, Ian Traynor of the *Guardian* has written, "The operation—engineering democracy through the ballot box and civil disobedience—is now so slick that the methods have matured into a template for *winning other people's elections*." (Emphasis added.) But making sure there *is* an election is different from deciding who the winner is. No one supposes that strategic aims, including extending American influence, are missing from US policy decisions, and the danger that democratic movements will be manipulated from abroad for geopolitical reasons is real. But does anyone suppose that there could have been an "orange revolution" in Ukraine if Yanukovich had actually won?

The Russians before the fact and the Western observers after it seemed to make a common mistake: to imagine that in modern times the future of countries can readily be determined by intervention from without. It's a mistake with a long history. The Russians made it in Afghanistan and then in Eastern Europe. The United States made it in Vietnam. The United States is now making it, with a vengeance, in Iraq.

An observer from still another land—Poland—who was in Kiev during the stormy, heady days of the demonstrations surely got closer to the pounding heart of the whole matter. Reading in the Western press that Ukraine was "the training ground of the fight between the US and Russia," Marcin Bosacki of *Gazeta Wyborcza* was struck with "a sense of utter absurdity when one realized what was missing from all these comments." And what was it? It was "the millions of people on the streets of Kiev, Kharkov, Lviv.... For it is the people who are making this a self-containing, nonviolent revolution." Bin Laden, the slayer of thousands of innocents, may notice the result but is unlikely ever to understand the role of the people. Russia under Gorbachev understood the lesson and let Eastern Europe go, but under Putin has forgotten it again. The United States once learned it and has now also forgotten it. How many times must the lesson be taught, and at what cost, before it is learned once and for all?

Jonathan Schell is The Nation Institute's Harold Willens Peace Fellow. The Jonathan Schell Reader *has just been published by Nation Books.*

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ERIC ALTERMAN

A Reply to Peter Beinart

In my last column, I focused on the Kerry campaign's inability to articulate an alternative national security strategy. This, I suggested, made it difficult to lay bare the colossal failures of the Bush Administration in the same area and to convince voters to trust the Democrats with the defense of the nation. I also noted that Democrats did not always have this problem; the "fighting faith" of 1950s cold war liberalism, for all its problems, presented Americans with a national security framework sufficient to earn their trust (and thereby, not incidentally, allow liberals to make considerable progress on social justice issues at home).

By coincidence, *New Republic* editor Peter Beinart simultaneously published an elegantly written, passionately argued 5,683-word essay addressing himself to exactly the same problem and deploying the same historical example as a guidepost to the future. The essay, "A Fighting Faith," was widely embraced as the fulcrum of debate about the future of a liberal foreign policy vision. In this regard, Beinart and *TNR* performed a salutary service, as such a debate is sorely needed. Unfortunately, Beinart's own contribution is fundamentally flawed, and must be discarded if this debate is to lead liberals in a fruitful direction.

Just as the magazine did when its editors argued in favor of Bush's foolhardy war—and Reagan's Central American fantasies before that—Beinart's essay employs McCarthyite tactics in conjunction with wishful thinking in the service of a chimerical political agenda. His solution for the political problem that ails the Democratic Party fits in perfectly with *TNR*'s own intellectual DNA structure, calling as it does for the expulsion from the Democratic coalition of MoveOn.org, perhaps the left's most energetic and committed popular organizations, in support of a combination of policies (liberal on the domestic front, neoconservative internationally) with no clear constituency in America or anywhere else. In doing so, it reproduces the failures of the Bush Administration that have destroyed the sympathy and solidarity the United States enjoyed in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

First the McCarthyism: Beinart's attacks on MoveOn—which understate the organization's 2.9 million membership by nearly 100 percent—rest largely on statements made by organizations he claims are related to it, often by nothing more than a click on its website. Many of his charges turn on the weasel word "seems," as in "in recent years, [MoveOn] seems to have largely lost interest in any agenda for fighting terrorism at all. Instead, MoveOn's discussion of the subject seems dominated by two, entirely negative, ideas...." As a certain Prince of Denmark once remarked: "Seems, madam! Nay, it is; I know not 'seems.'"

Beinart falsely accuses MoveOn of opposing military retaliation against Al Qaeda because its organizers argued on behalf of a strategy that spared population centers from bombing attacks. He apparently cannot conceive of an effective military response that does not include the killing of thousands of innocents. In fact, just as the liberal realists of the 1950s whom Beinart so admires opposed the excesses of conservative US foreign policy—including CIA-sponsored coups in Iran and Guatemala—so too did liberal realists argue in 2001 that the US government was not availing itself of the best approaches to fighting Al Qaeda. *New Yorker* reporter Nicholas Lemann surveyed a group of them and came away with a remarkably consistent—and painfully prescient—set of analyses. "Military power is not necessary to wiping out Al Qaeda," Stephen Walt of the Kennedy School at Harvard told Lemann. "It's a crude instrument, and it almost always has effects you can't anticipate.... This is ultimately a battle for the hearts and minds of people around the world. When your village just got leveled by an American mistake, the conclusions you draw will be rather different from what we'd want them to be." Stephen Van Evera of MIT concurred: "A broad war on terror was a tremendous mistake.... you make enemies of the people you need against Al Qaeda."

Indeed, the bombing campaign in Afghanistan, while supported elsewhere, did feed anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world. In a February 2002 Gallup poll of nine Muslim countries, 77 percent of respondents judged US actions in Afghanistan to be unjustifiable; only 9 percent expressed support. Even in moderate Turkey, opinion ran 3 to 1 against, and in Pakistan the ratio was 20 to 1. Needless to say, neither did the military campaign succeed in capturing its avowed target, Osama bin Laden. (I point all this out as someone who supported the attack on Afghanistan, although I would have preferred a more thoughtful response.)

Beinart argues that by expelling MoveOn for being insufficiently supportive of the Bush Administration's terror policies and embracing a platform of social liberalism and military adventurism, Democrats could enlarge their portion of the electoral pie to a degree that would enable them to wrest power from the Republicans and embark on a successful mission to democratize the Middle East. As many critics have pointed out in response, the size of the potential pro–gay marriage/pro-war constituency would probably fit comfortably around a *TNR* conference table. Even more fantastic, however, and to this writer, depressing, is Beinart's belief that such a force could successfully liberate the Islamic world from the morass of religious fundamentalism, corruption and political paranoia from which it currently suffers.

Can Beinart point to any evidence that the US government possesses the knowledge, authority or cultural sensitivity necessary to perform this historically unprecedented operation? Does Beinart really believe that the Arab masses are yearning to be freed in order to catch the last episode of *Desperate Housewives*? Such naïve hubris about America's ability to remake other cultures to our liking at the point of a gun is what underlay the decisions that cost us 58,000 lives in Vietnam and wrought death and destruction across Southeast Asia for more than a decade. In the persons of Paul Wolfowitz and other alleged "idealists" in the Bush Administration, it has reared its ugly head again, and produced tragic results. Now Beinart wants to run the same damned movie with liberal credits at the end. Are American liberals really cursed to make this same mistake over and over like one of Pavlov's poodles?

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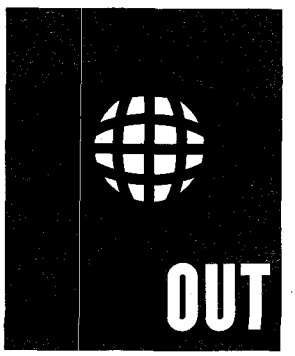
NAOMI KLEIN

You Break It, You Pay For It



So it turns out Pottery Barn doesn't even have a rule that says, "You break it, you own it." According to a company spokesperson, "in the rare instance that something is broken in the store, it's written off as a loss." Yet the nonexistent policy of a store selling $80 corkscrews continues to wield more influence in the United States than the Geneva Conventions and the US Army's Law of Land Warfare combined. As Bob Woodward has noted, Colin Powell invoked "the Pottery Barn rule" before the invasion, while John Kerry pledged his allegiance to it during the first presidential debate. And the imaginary rule is still the favored blunt instrument with which to whack anyone who dares to suggest that the time has come to withdraw troops from Iraq: Sure the war is a disaster, the argument goes, but we can't stop now—you break it, you own it.

Though not invoking the chain store by name, Nicholas Kristof laid out this argument in a recent *New York Times* column. "Our mistaken invasion has left millions of Iraqis desperately vulnerable, and it would be inhumane to abandon them now. If we stay in Iraq, there is still some hope that Iraqis will come to enjoy security and better lives, but if we pull out we will be condemning Iraqis to anarchy, terrorism and starvation, costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of children over the next decade."

Let's start with the idea that the United States is helping to provide security. On the contrary, the presence of US troops is provoking violence on a daily basis. The truth is that as long as the troops remain, the country's entire security apparatus—occupation forces as well as Iraqi soldiers and police officers—will be exclusively dedicated to fending off resistance attacks, leaving a security vacuum when it comes to protecting regular Iraqis. If the troops pulled out, Iraqis would still face insecurity, but they would be able to devote their local security resources to regaining control over their cities and neighborhoods.

As for preventing "anarchy," the US plan to bring elections to Iraq seems designed to spark a civil war—the civil war needed to justify an ongoing presence for US troops no matter who wins the elections. It was always clear that the Shiite majority, which has been calling for immediate elections for more than a year, was never going to accept any delay in the election timetable. And it was equally clear that by destroying Falluja in the name of preparing the city for elections, much of the Sunni leadership would be forced to call for an election boycott.

When Kristof asserts that US forces should stay in Iraq to save "hundreds of thousands of children" from starvation, it's hard to imagine what he has in mind. Hunger in Iraq is not merely the humanitarian fallout of a war—it is the direct result of the US decision to impose brutal "shock therapy" policies on a country that was already sickened and weakened by twelve years of sanctions. Paul Bremer's first act on the job was to lay off close to 500,000 Iraqis, and his primary accomplishment—for which he was just awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom—was to oversee a "reconstruction" process that systematically stole jobs from needy Iraqis and handed them to foreign firms, sending the unemployment rate soaring to 67 percent. And the worst of the shocks are yet to come. On November 21, the group of industrialized countries known as the Paris Club finally unveiled its plan for Iraq's unpayable debt. Rather than forgiving it outright, the Paris Club laid out a three-year plan to write off 80 percent, contingent on Iraq's future governments adhering to a strict International Monetary Fund austerity program. According to early drafts, that program includes "restructuring of state-owned enterprises" (read: privatization), a plan that Iraq's Ministry of Industry predicts will require laying off an additional 145,000 workers. In the name of "free-market reforms," the IMF also wants to eliminate the program that provides each Iraqi family with a basket of food—the only barrier to starvation for millions of citizens. There is additional pressure to eliminate the food rations coming from the World Trade Organization, which, at Washington's urging, is considering accepting Iraq as a member—provided it adopts certain "reforms."

So let's be absolutely clear: The United States, having broken Iraq, is not in the process of fixing it. It is merely continuing to break the country and its people by other means, using not only F-16s and Bradleys, but now the less flashy weaponry of WTO and IMF conditions, followed by elections designed to transfer as little power to Iraqis as possible. This is what famed Argentine writer Rodolfo Walsh, writing before his 1977 assassination by the military junta, described as "planned misery." And the longer the United States stays in Iraq, the more misery it will plan.

But if staying in Iraq is not the solution, neither are easy bumper-sticker calls to pull the troops out and spend the money on schools and hospitals at home. Yes, the troops must leave, but that can be only one plank of a credible and moral antiwar platform. What of the schools and hospitals in Iraq—the ones that were supposed to be fixed by Bechtel but never were? Too often, antiwar forces have shied away from speaking about what Americans owe Iraq. Rarely is the word "compensation" spoken, let alone the more loaded "reparations."

Antiwar forces have also failed to offer concrete support for the political demands coming out of Iraq. For instance, when the Iraqi National Assembly forcefully condemned the Paris Club deal for forcing the Iraqi people to pay Saddam's "odious" debts and robbing them of their economic sovereignty, the antiwar movement was virtually silent, save the dogged but undersupported Jubilee Iraq. And while US soldiers aren't protecting Iraqis from starvation, the food rations certainly are—so why isn't safeguarding this desperately needed program one of our central demands?

The failure to develop a credible platform beyond "troops out" may be one reason the antiwar movement remains stalled, even as opposition to the war deepens. Because the Pottery Barn rulers do have a point: Breaking a country should have consequences for the breakers. Owning the broken country should not be one of them, but how about paying for the repairs? ■

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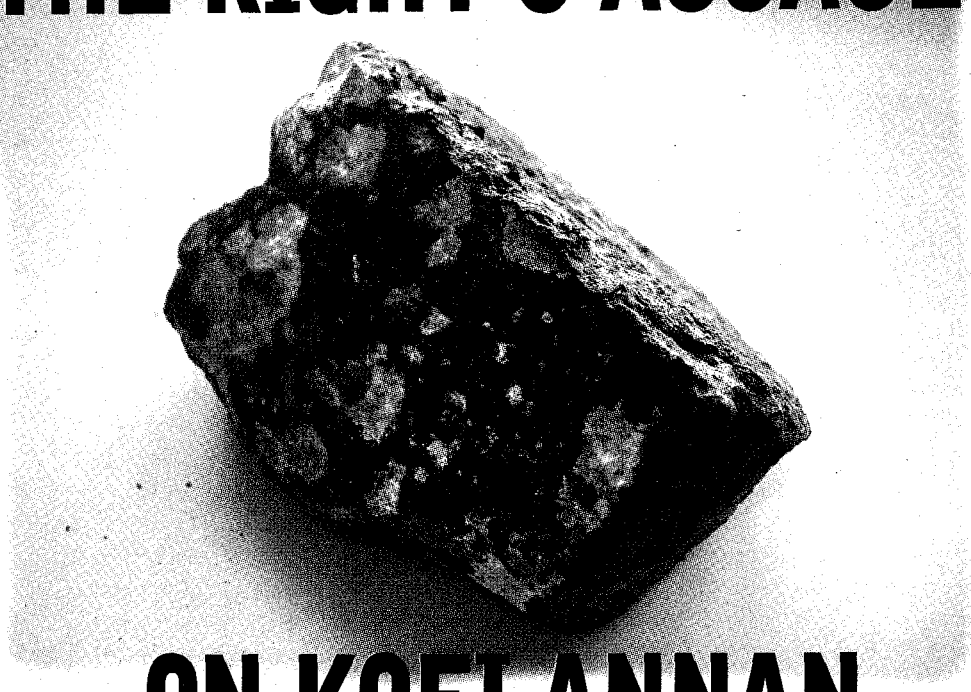
ARTICLES

THE RIGHT'S ASSAULT ON KOFI ANNAN



by IAN WILLIAMS

Last June UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said of the media coverage of the so-called Oil for Food Scandal, "It's a bit like lynching, actually." By December the vigilantes were lining up, swinging their ropes. The neoconservative and paleoconservative assault on him and the UN has been like a slightly slower version of the Swift Boat veterans' campaign against Democratic presidential nominee John Kerry—right down to the halfhearted and belated disavowals by George W. Bush.

Listening to the cable pundits, you would never suspect that there is no proof at this point that Annan, or indeed anyone else at the UN, did anything wrong. Charges of corruption against UN official Benon Sevan are suspect at best, given that they come via Ahmad Chalabi, who was also the source of the discredited information about Iraq's illusory weapons, as well as the assurances that Iraqis would greet US and British forces as liberators. Nor is there any evidence that Annan used his influence to give Cotecna, a company that employed his son, the job of monitoring contracts under the oil-for-food program, and no proof that Cotecna did anything illegal or corrupt. Although Annan's son certainly let his father down by not telling him of Cotecna's continuing "non-compete" payments to him, paternal resignations in response to the sins of prodigal sons have not been a great American tradition—certainly not under the Bush dynasty.

There are real questions about Saddam Hussein's oil sales, both inside and outside the oil-for-food program, but all the serious investigations, such as that by the US Government Accountability Office, make it clear that most of the revenue he raised had nothing to do with the UN, and that the UN did nothing without the explicit or implicit support of the United States acting through the Security Council.

The reality is that the current calls for Annan's head are provoked by his opposition to America's pre-emptive war in Iraq. On December 4 the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the hometown newspaper of Senator Norm Coleman, who has called for Annan's resignation, provided perhaps the most succinct explanation of what lies behind the attacks. Describing Coleman's call as a "sordid move," the editorial explained: "For months before the election, the right-wing constellation of blogs and talk radio was alive with incendiary rhetoric about Annan and the oil-for-food scandal.... This is really all about Annan's refusal to toe the Bush line on Iraq and the administration's generally unilateral approach to foreign affairs. The right-wingers hate Annan and saw in the food-for-oil program a possible chink in his armor. They went after it with a venomous fury."

The genesis of the oil-for-food program was Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which prompted the UN to impose sanctions to prevent Iraq from selling its oil. After the war the sanctions were retained, officially until Iraq complied with the cease-fire terms, particularly on disarmament, although US officials made no secret of the fact that they would veto the lifting of sanctions as long as Saddam remained in power.

In 1996, with sanctions causing dire hardship for ordinary

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Iraqis, the Security Council authorized the oil-for-food program, under which Iraq could sell its oil on the world markets and use some of the proceeds to buy food and other supplies as long as the cash was deposited in UN-controlled escrow accounts (no less than 30 percent went to pay reparations). Each contract had to be approved by the Security Council's 661 Committee.

Although UN staff told the committee that Saddam was skimming money from some of the contracts by selling the oil at a reduced price and then getting kickbacks, none of the members, including the United States and Britain, put a hold on any of them.

Needless to say, there are not many US officials prepared to come forward and admit this. Nor are many in the present Administration highlighting the implicit conclusion of the Iraq Survey Group (the team charged by Bush with examining Saddam's arsenal): that the sanctions modified by the oil-for-food program actually succeeded in their aims of insuring that the Iraqi people were fed, while oil revenues did not rebuild Iraq's armory of prohibited weapons—which is why the invaders were not able to find them.

Soon the 'scandal' was 'the biggest in the history of the Universe,' according to right-wing columnist Charles Krauthammer.

The story of how the neocon echo chamber made oil for food into a UN scandal begins with Claudia Rosett, a former *Wall Street Journal* reporter who is now "journalist in residence" at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD). In a 2002 *Journal* op-ed, just after Bush broke with his own hard-liners by going to the UN to ask for backing for an Iraq invasion, she called the program "an unholy union between Saddam and the U.N.," in which "Saddam has been getting around the sanctions via surcharge-kickback deals and smuggling." In an April 2003 *New York Times* piece she said "lifting the sanctions would take away the United Nations' remaining leverage in Iraq. If the oil-for-food operation is extended, however, it will have a tremendous influence on shaping the new Iraq. Before that is allowed to happen, let's see the books." Denying that the foundation, or for that matter Chalabi, set her on her quest, Rosett says she began looking at the program as part of a broader look at the Iraq economy, and that as soon as its structure was explained to her, "it was obvious that there was enormous opportunity there for graft."

The idea that the UN has "failed" by not backing the US invasion of Iraq and that everything Saddam did could be laid at its door was very much part of the house philosophy of FDD, whose masthead is a comprehensive list of those who pushed for the invasion of Iraq. The organization itself, as one observer commented, is the Project for the New American Century—the major cheerleader for the Iraq war—in another form. Its board includes Steve Forbes, Jack Kemp, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Frank Lautenberg, Newt Gingrich and James Woolsey, not to mention Richard Perle and Charles Krauthammer. Tom Barry, policy director of the International Relations Center and historian of the neocon network, says FDD "has suddenly become a major player on the right and among neocon policy institutes, one reason being that it is so richly endowed." As its own website boasts, it is closely connected with the Iraqis around the Iraqi National Congress and Chalabi.

Clifford May, FDD president and former RNC spokesman, is eager to admit that "oil for food is something we have been working hard on" but denies "that either Claudia or I have called for [Annan's] resignation." That's not because May admires the UN; he calls it "an institution badly in need of reform, whether it's for the sex scandals in the Congo or for the pretense some people in it have to become a super government for the world, or a world Supreme Court." Asked her opinion about the use others have made of her work, Rosett says, "I have focused on reporting the story, and where I have so far called for changes at the UN, have urged much greater transparency and accountability."

There is indeed a lack of transparency at the UN, but all those contracts were examined by the sanctions committee and the US State Department. Rosett denies "going after" the UN and says that "whatever was done wrong should be brought to light." But she is adamant that the UN is most at fault and she has neglected to give similar attention to US diplomats and other actors.

In subsequent articles Rosett maintained the pressure, but the issue really only exploded into the wider media world in 2004, after her revelations last March in *National Review* that Annan's son had been employed by Cotecna (followed several months later with the news that he had continued to get "noncompete" payments after he left). From January onward, the claims by Washington's then-favorite Iraqi, Chalabi, that retiring oil-for-food chief Sevan was on a list of 267 people for whom Saddam had authorized commissions on oil trades led to a rash of stories by Rosett and others focusing, as Chalabi had, on the one alleged UN connection.

When asked about Sevan in the Senate, Charles Duelfer, head of the Iraq Survey Group, admitted that his only evidence against Sevan was "what was indicated in Iraqi documents"—i.e., Chalabi's list—which has still not been authenticated. Indeed, another person named on the list was George Galloway, a British MP who has just won a $290,000 libel claim against the *Daily Telegraph* for its unwarranted inferences from that fact.

Rosett and her colleagues ran hot with the story, not least on MSNBC and Fox, which retained her as a paid "oil-for-food" contributor. Soon the scandal was "the biggest in the history of the Universe," according to her FDD colleague and *Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer. William Safire picked up on Rosett's work and fulminated in the *New York Times*, drawing in House International Relations Committee chair Henry Hyde, who's since been on the case with all the assiduity one would expect of someone who'd said the United States should leave the UN.

Monica Crowley, hosting *Scarborough Country* on MSNBC in November, inadvertently substantiated the *Star Tribune*'s claim of a "right-wing constellation." She complained that the "elite" press was ignoring the oil-for-food story, "with the exception of an intrepid reporter like our friend Claudia Rosett.... Bill Safire over at the *New York Times*, sort of the *New York Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Sun*, they have been covering it. But why haven't we seen more extensive coverage? This is the world's biggest swindle?" She modestly omitted MSNBC, Fox and the conservative radio circuit from the list.

Ian Williams is The Nation*'s UN correspondent.*

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Like the Swift Boat story, even though the fuss was essentially confined to these outlets, the conservatives made so much of the affair that the rest of the media seem to have concluded that there must be a flicker under all the smoke. Certainly the serious papers seem not to have thought they had a dog in this fight or that it was their job to exonerate the UN. And the UN's own response was, as usual, tepid.

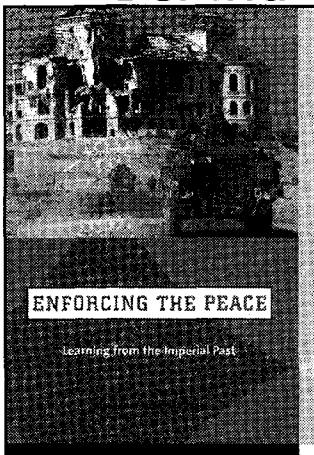
Understandably, Annan had assumed that his appointment in April of former US Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker to head an inquiry, backed by the Security Council, would see a return to sanity. However, the same people who'd demanded the inquiry then began to accuse Annan of underfunding it. When he found $30 million for it from residual oil-for-food funds set aside for administration purposes, Rosett, Safire and the rest accused him of taking bread from Iraqi children's mouths. The *New York Post* denounced the investigation as a cover-up, while Safire referred insultingly to Annan's "manipulative abuse of Paul Volcker," whose reputation for integrity, he said, "is being shredded by a web of sticky-fingered officials and see-no-evil bureaucrats desperate to protect the man on top who hired him to substitute for—and thereby to abort—prompt and truly independent investigation."

The witch hunters kept the caldron bubbling along until, at the end of October, Annan wrote a private letter to Iraqi Interim President Iyad Allawi, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Bush, suggesting that a frontal assault on Falluja was not the way to win Iraqi hearts and minds. After all, at the request of Washington, the UN is supposed to be overseeing elections there. Then the pot bubbled over. Within days, Fox's Bill O'Reilly was pontificating that "it's becoming increasingly clear that UN chief Kofi Annan is hurting the USA." On November 18 former New York Mayor Edward Koch followed with a column in the *New York Sun* claiming that Annan's "ability to lead the UN is seriously impaired. He no longer has the confidence of America because of his failure to create a consensus on Iraq among the permanent members." On November 24 *National Review* declared that "Annan should either resign, if he is honorable, or be removed, if he is not." This was echoed on November 29 by Safire, who ended a *New York Times* column with the comment that the "scandal" would not end "until Kofi Annan, even if personally innocent, resigns—having, through initial ineptitude and final obstructionism, brought dishonor on the Secretariat of the United Nations." Finally, on December 1 in the *Wall Street Journal*, Norm Coleman, the chair of the Senate investigations committee, called for Annan's resignation. Inspired by his example, Representative Scott Garrett raved a few days later, "To me the question should not be whether Kofi Annan should be in charge. To me, the larger question is whether he should be in jail."

When asked, President Bush pointedly did not repudiate Coleman's call with any expression of confidence in Annan but simply called for the investigation to take its course. A week later, after Blair had joined the rest of the world in expressing warm support for Annan and delegates in the General Assembly had given him a standing ovation, even the White House realized the damage Coleman & Co. had done to American diplomacy.

The best that Bush could manage was to have his lame-duck UN ambassador, John Danforth, give a halfhearted expression of

Behind the **Headlines**



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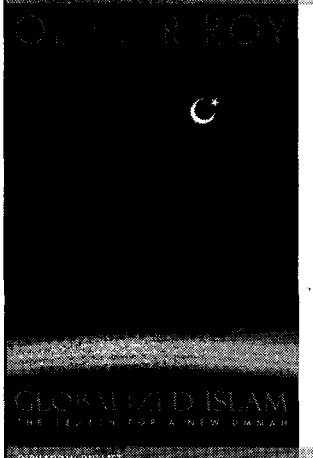

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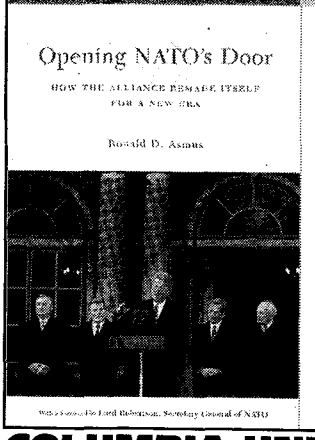

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support on his behalf. An unabashed Coleman read between the lines and held his ground: "I simply do not share the Administration's position on this matter," he said. "It is my personal and steadfast belief that Mr. Annan should step down in order to protect the long-term integrity and credibility of the United Nations."

The attacks on Annan and the UN are not likely to abate soon. Bashing the UN is an issue that allows the unilateral interventionists to ring the till, gathering support from paleocon isolationists across the country. As one GOP staffer embarrassed by Coleman's Joe McCarthy imitations gloomily predicted, the right wing is not going to drop the subject, because "they raise too much money out of bashing the UN, from the big foundations and from those small-town Rush Limbaughs."

Former Gore 2000 campaign head Donna Brazile, who says she is reconsidering her affiliation with the FDD, denounced the calls for Annan's resignation before the investigation is finished. "I worked on Capitol Hill before Kofi Annan, and the UN has always been a dirty word there," Brazile noted. "It just goes back to the neocons and their entire approach to multilateral institutions and their role in the world. They've got the airwaves to themselves. I just hope the Democrats stand up against them on this issue."

If the Democrats want to do that, they should begin by distancing themselves from the Democratic Leadership Council's shameful call for Annan's resignation and join those who signed Representative Dennis Kucinich's letter deploring the attacks. And they should join Representative Henry Waxman in demanding that the Governmental Reform Committee investigate the real oil-for-food scandal: what happened to the more than $8 billion unspent from the oil-for-food program that the United States insisted be handed over to the "Iraq Development Fund," overseen by US occupation authority head Paul Bremer. The rest of the Security Council reluctantly agreed to this payment, but only on condition that the fund be monitored by international auditors. The auditors were never allowed to do their work, and it is now suspected that most of that money went to Halliburton on no-bid contracts. Now *there* are grounds for some resignations. But you know who won't be calling for them. ■

A CHILD THERAPIST IS JAILED AFTER THE LAW DECIDES HE TOOK THE WRONG PICTURES.

The Hunting of Dr. Craft

JUDY JACKSON AND DEBBIE NATHAN

The snapshots of Dr. Robert Bruce Craft living a normal life are too dated to show what he looks like now. Pictures from the 1990s depict a man in middle age: tanned, fit, suburban and a little too tall for his posture. But his gangliness gave him a gentle, friendly mien. Perennially dressed in one of those floppy canvas hats hikers use to avoid sunburn, and with an omnipresent grin, he looked like an outsized Mr. Rogers—which is how many who knew him saw him. These days there's only one recent photo of Craft, on the website of the Department of Corrections of the State of Georgia. It shows him pale and flabby, vaguely monstrous, in the way all inmates look in their mug shots, even those who've been imprisoned for crimes they never committed.

CAITLIN DOVER

The twenty-year sentence Craft has been serving since 2000 is for "exploiting" and "molesting" children by taking pornographic pictures. The pictures include one of a small, smiling boy, fully clothed, peeing into a stream, with only the arc of urine visible—an image readily available in rural areas with tourist shops. There's a laughing youngster mooning the camera in the classic Coppertone pose, and another picture, of Craft's diaperless nephew photographed from behind—both common shots in parenting magazines. And there's the frontal torso of a preschool girl with arms raised as she dons a dress. That one is artful enough to hang in a gallery. Others look just like snapshots kept in scrapbooks by doting parents.

But Craft wasn't these kids' father, which is the main reason he's locked up now. Georgia has no criminal law banning people from photographing children who aren't theirs. But it does have statutes under which anyone photographing children making what a prosecutor thinks are provocative gestures can be charged with producing kiddie porn, even if the children were fully clothed when the pictures were taken.

When the first child pornography legislation was formulated a generation ago, it outlawed depictions of children engaged in inarguably sexual acts—intercourse, for example, or masturbation. But since then, revisions in the laws have made it illegal to show "lasciviousness"—a term that can mean almost anything. Similar laws are now on the books in every state.

As a result of this legal fuzziness, in suburban Dallas a couple was arrested and their children removed in 2003 after the father took a picture of their baby son breastfeeding and left the roll at a drugstore for processing. In Santa Fe an acclaimed artist is awaiting trial for taking pictures of young kids in the family while they were nude. Not long ago in New Hampshire, police investigated the Women's Rural Entrepreneurial Network after the group made

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a fundraising calendar that included photos of elderly women members and their daughters—fully clothed—proudly holding toddler granddaughters in their birthday suits. And in Roanoke, Virginia, this past summer, two 16-year-old girls were charged with producing and disseminating child pornography after they photographed themselves topless, then gave the pictures to their high school boyfriends, who posted them on the Internet. So far, no one accused of these transgressions has landed in prison. No one, that is, except Dr. Bruce Craft.

Craft was a Georgia clinical psychologist specializing in children. In Augusta, where he'd been practicing for years, he was respected by colleagues as a gifted diagnostician and exceptionally dedicated clinician. No one had ever received a complaint about his work. Instead, he regularly got accolades, and parents raved about the progress their hyperactive, anorexic, dyslexic and depressed children made under his care. His success stemmed from a finely honed ability to observe kids in play therapy without intruding, then gently modify their behavior. If a child cursed, for example, Craft might discuss with her what she was angry about, then reassure her it was OK to use bad words in his office but might not be in school or at home.

For several years Craft had used photography in his practice as "a vehicle for documenting accomplishment," he wrote in a letter to his attorney retrospectively analyzing his behavior, and as a tool "for boosting self-esteem." He took pictures of his young patients' drawings and the masterpieces they built with Lincoln Logs; he snapped kids in the office parking lot when the setting sunlight made their faces glow; and he gave the children and their parents many of these photos to take home. Today, one of Craft's colleagues told us he takes child patients' pictures, too—but only with parents in the office, and he asks kids to cover up if they impulsively remove their clothing. Craft never bothered with these precautions.

As he admits now, he became increasingly consumed with using his camera to capture reality without stopping to pick and choose the images he wanted. He shot photos of nature, and of his adult friends and neighbors and their children. Feeling that his strict Southern Baptist upbringing was inhibiting his spontaneity when it came to the human body, he took classes in fashion photography featuring scantily clad and nude adult females, hoping his shutter finger would become less censorious.

More and more, his goal was to shoot, shoot and shoot some more, always keeping subjects candid, pausing as little as possible. There were days when he used up ten or twenty rolls. Within a few years his elegant suburban home had become an indoor junkyard of thousands of slides, photos and videotapes, few arranged in any order, most looked at only once and then stuck back in photo-lab envelopes that were never opened again. His wife, Kay, constantly urged him to cull through the mess; he simply took more pictures. That made him a shutterbug, but if the envelopes had been old newspapers, he would have been deemed a hoarder, an obsessive-compulsive in need of help.

In fact, as Craft, Kay and his former colleagues now say, he could have used counseling for depression caused in part by an excess of work. His longtime employment with the local VA hospital as assistant chief of psychology had devolved into dull administrative duties. The Xanax he took did not alleviate his anxiety over having enough money to retire on, so he continued to consult on traumatic brain-injured patients at the Medical College of Georgia and stayed active as a military reserve officer while maintaining his private practice. What he wanted was to quit psychology completely and immerse himself in photography. But he didn't think he could afford it.

In addition, he fretted about the younger of his two grown sons, who had revealed as a teenager that he was gay. In Augusta, whose economy and culture are dominated by the Army, a military bomb factory and deep-seated fundamentalist Christianity, Craft was considered a liberal. Still, he had trouble dealing with his son's homosexuality and had tried to talk him out of it. The son pulled away emotionally and never came back; Craft felt bereft of fatherhood and didn't know how to recover it. One thing helped—capturing the developmental minutiae of other people's kids for posterity. Photographing them was "relaxing, soothing and almost mystical," he said recently.

Yet many of these children were former and current patients. And the more Craft got into photography, the more his therapeutic intent was superseded by his compulsion to use the camera. He was photographing his preschool-aged patients practically nonstop as they sat on his office floor, legs splayed, playing with toys. He did so even when they moved the wrong way and flashed glimpses of underwear—or portions of scrotum and labia. Some of his patients had been referred by child-protection authorities after being removed from their homes for child abuse, and he shot a couple of these kids as they exhibited their genitals while exposing wounds on their abdomens. He gave an indigent little

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girl a new dress, then took that gallery-quality photograph of her changing into it.

Always known for his extraordinary generosity, Craft also befriended patients and their families outside the office, bestowing food, clothing, free childcare, even financial assistance—all considered patently unethical by the American Psychological Association. Craft began hanging out for hours at a time in the house of the Olivers,* a family with six kids, four of whom he had treated. He took them and the parents camping in the Smoky Mountains, where he would follow the children around with video and still cameras.

Some of the older Oliver boys would occasionally grab Craft's equipment and horse around by taking pictures of each other unclothed. Craft says he joined in the silliness. The parents knew that among the hundreds of images shot, an occasional one depicted nudity or urination. But nobody was concerned. "Bruce was like a grandfather or an uncle," one of the kids said recently. "It was like having your dad take pictures of you." And Craft helped the family of Clint,* another former patient, an attention-demanding, hyperactive 9-year-old, by taking him into his home on weekends after the family moved from Augusta to nearby Atlanta. Clint's parents were grateful for the help but later said they had no idea how many pictures were being taken or that any contained nudity.

Parents of alleged child victims who insisted their kids hadn't been hurt by Dr. Craft were themselves being threatened.

None of these lapses in judgment created problems, though, until Craft sent a roll of film to a photo lab at a military PX just across the Georgia state line in South Carolina. On the roll were several pictures of Gregory,* a 3-year-old boy stabbing at his erect penis with a plastic bowie knife (a common play therapy toy for children to express aggression with). Gregory was in temporary foster care with the Oliver family, who suspected he'd been sexually abused in his regular home. Craft had begun treating him, the Oliver parents recall today, after he attacked the other children, slashed his bedding with knives and threatened to cut off his penis.

Disturbed by the pictures, a lab employee contacted the FBI. A year later, in late 1996, Special Agent Keith Owens visited Craft's office. Craft told Owens there was no clinical purpose for having taken the photos. He'd snapped the knife shots because Gregory's sudden behavior evoked "morbid fascination" and either "amazed" (his version of the word) or "amused" him (the FBI's). He was adamant he'd never gotten sexual gratification from taking such pictures. But he acknowledged they were "inappropriate" and that his colleagues would "never understand" why he'd taken them. Owens's interpretation of these statements was that Craft was a pedophile. He did not pursue the possibility that what the doctor might actually have meant was that photographing children during therapy violated the ethics of his profession.

Today Craft says he assumed there'd been a simple misunderstanding, and that Owens would contact the Oliver parents about Gregory's problems. But Owens waited weeks to question the Olivers. Meanwhile, he quickly obtained search warrants for Craft's office and home, and law-enforcement personnel spent months picking through thousands upon thousands of Craft's photos, slides and videotapes of mountains, trees, adults, kids and more trees. But it was the pictures of children that interested investigators: kids in Halloween costumes, kids at karate competitions and soccer matches, kids hugging each other. And, of course, kids like the Crafts' toddler niece and nephew, playing partially clothed; 9-year-old Clint, mooning in one shot and grinning on the potty in another; and those therapy patients playing with legs splayed and glimpses of genitalia exposed. The authorities claimed that Craft was sexually aroused by about 100 of the images.

Elevating personal concerns over professional responsibilities during work, socializing with patients, violating their privacy by taking pictures without informed consent—all are potential reasons to revoke a therapist's license (which the Georgia Board of Examiners did to Craft). But none have anything in particular to do with sexual deviancy. Nevertheless, Danny Craig, the district attorney for the county encompassing Augusta, had decided that Craft was—as he would later put it publicly—"one of the most prolific, one of the most dangerous child molesters" in the nation.

Such attitudes terrified Craft, as did DA Craig's avowal to charge Kay as a co-conspirator and seize their home under criminal forfeiture laws if he were convicted. The local radio talk show excoriated him as a fiend; the daily paper denounced a magistrate for providing him bail.

A community hotline was set up to document children's complaints of sexual abuse by Craft, and authorities used patient files to track down and interview kids. The hotline was unproductive, and no one complained of abuse—except for one child. Clint, the hyperactive boy who used to visit Craft's house, said he'd been molested but didn't "remember" it until FBI agent Owens told him Craft harmed hundreds of kids and Clint could help lock him up.

Meanwhile, parents of alleged child victims who insisted their kids hadn't been hurt were themselves being threatened.

According to the Oliver parents, when they told Owens that they didn't think Craft's pictures of their kids were pornography, Owens said, "You're making a big mistake. If you want to be a good parent you have to make sure you make the right choices here." (Owens could not be reached for comment.)

Craft's lawyers doubted the community could grasp the complexity of the case, evaluate a hundred images taken out of context or understand how leading, pressured interviews with children can create false charges of abuse—as may well have happened with 9-year-old Clint's accusation.

So they opted for a bench trial, in which a judge, rather than a jury, would decide guilt or innocence.

Expert witnesses were prepared to tell the judge that Craft did not seem to harbor sexual urges toward kids. Drugstore photo-lab employees had agreed to talk about how they'd been processing his work for years and found it innocuous. His young "victims" were lined up to testify that he'd never hurt them and that they, not Craft, had taken some of the pictures. All this would cast doubt on 9-year-old Clint's accusation of having been molested.

*Names have been changed to protect privacy.

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Clint took the stand for the state, but Craft's friendly witnesses never did: By the time the prosecution rested its case, the judge seemed so offended by the images, and Craft was such an emotional wreck, that his lawyers thought up a deal. They told DA Craig they would not put on a defense if Craft's wife could keep the house. The verdict came quickly, and later a sentence of twenty years for ninety-nine of 118 convictions, most of that time to be served concurrently.

Now Kay sits at home amid all those photo envelopes, writing to officials on behalf of her husband, organizing inmates' families to demand waiting areas inside prisons so they won't get rained on while visiting kin; doing appellate research; wondering whether the DA targeted Bruce because she used to be a nurse at Planned Parenthood. If this were ancient Greece she'd be Penelope waiting for Odysseus. But it's now, in America, where epics are more like Kafka.

How could such a thing happen? Answering that question requires looking at the illogical, helter-skelter way that laws banning child pornography have evolved in the last generation. Not only is it criminal for an adult to make a child engage in sex acts, the thinking goes, but taking pictures is also banned because kiddie porn records the real abuse of a child, and pedophiles have a tendency to horde the images and exchange them with fellow deviants. The practice traumatizes child victims, who can spend the rest of their lives imagining shameful photos and videos of themselves circulating who knows where. The trauma must be prevented. That's why child pornography is not protected speech, and hasn't been for more than twenty years.

How could this happen? To answer that, you have to look at the illogical, helter-skelter way in which laws banning child porn have evolved.

Who could argue with that logic? But there's a problem: defining what a sex act is. In 1982 the Supreme Court tried to answer the question while ruling on a New York case now popularly known as *Ferber*. In *Ferber*, the Justices upheld a statute that made it illegal to use a child in a "sexual performance" that includes "sexual conduct." The definition of "sexual conduct" started out straightforwardly, listing "intercourse," "bestiality," "masturbation" and "sado-masochistic abuse." Vetting a picture for these activities is not rocket science. But here's where things get harder: the statute affirmed by *Ferber* also prohibited "lewd exhibition of the genitals" (and a subsequent federal law changed "lewd" to "lascivious").

What, exactly, is "lascivious exhibition of the genitals"? Is it always a result of a child being posed by or for pedophiles? Or could a harmless family snapshot of a toddler in the tub also qualify? Police and prosecutors often swear they can tell the difference. But by the late 1980s, so many mom and pop shutterbugs were getting arrested that in a case known as *Dost*, a judge in a state district court in California came up with a test that poses six questions to determine if a picture is kiddie porn. The list includes queries such as: Is the focal point of the image the child's genitals? Is the setting a place generally associated with sex? Is the child nude? Posed or dressed inappropriately? Displaying "sexual coyness"?

The answers might at first seem obvious, but in the end they're mired in subjectivity. In one case where the test was used, the government argued that it was improper to photograph a child on a beach because "many honeymoons are planned around beach locations" (a federal appeals court rejected the argument). In another case, the fact that kids were snapped at a playground and a park was deemed incriminating, since children are often found at playgrounds and parks, and pedophiles may get aroused by these venues.

Even nakedness is no longer required to define a picture as criminal. In the mid-1990s, a case known as *Knox v. the United States* started moving through the courts after Pennsylvania State University graduate student Stephen Knox was convicted for owning a videotape, marketed by a company in Nevada, that zoomed in on the pelvic area of underage girls doing sexy, gymnastic moves while dressed in leotards, shorts and bathing suits. A federal appeals court held that photos and videos can show "lascivious exhibition of the genitals" even when the genitals are covered up.

Such decisions won't hurt "normal" people, authorities insist. The tapes Stephen Knox bought were clearly advertised as pedophile material, and the laws are meant to catch deviants and leave everyone else alone. The language of federal and state statutes specifies that images are illegal only when made to get the producer, the child or the viewer sexually excited. Absent that intent, we're supposed to rest assured that our baby-on-the-bear-rug photos are fine.

But who decides intent? In Augusta, District Attorney Craig was enraged that Bruce Craft shot pictures of naked children who weren't his: children on the potty and peeing, children whose genitals sometimes peeked from their shorts when they were sprawled at play or asleep. Craft says he took them out of a mania for capturing Kodak moments. Craig didn't believe it, even though no pornography was found in the Crafts' home or on their computers, Craft never distributed the images and he had no history of urges toward children. No matter—since he took the pictures, he's a pedophile. And since he's a pedophile, he took the pictures to get aroused. Which makes him a pedophile. It's like the whirlpool in *Aguirre, the Wrath of God*. There's no way out, especially since a Georgia appeals court ruled that it could infer Craft's lust even if evidence demonstrating it is "exceedingly weak and unsatisfactory."

Few First Amendment analysts have examined this vortex of unreason, but one who has looked carefully is New York University School of Law professor Amy Adler. In densely footnoted law-journal articles written over the past few years, she warns that the Supreme Court is signing off on blurry lower-court decisions in child-porn cases instead of drawing bold lines around prohibited expression in order to protect what is allowed—as the High Court does habitually for other kinds of speech.

And she has deeper worries about the entire culture. With their obsessive emphasis on parsing child images for lewdness, lasciviousness and focus on clothed and unclothed genitals, the current kiddie-porn laws push all of us to see, and to think, like pedophiles. As an example, Adler takes us to 1999, when Calvin Klein ran an ad campaign for his line of children's underwear.

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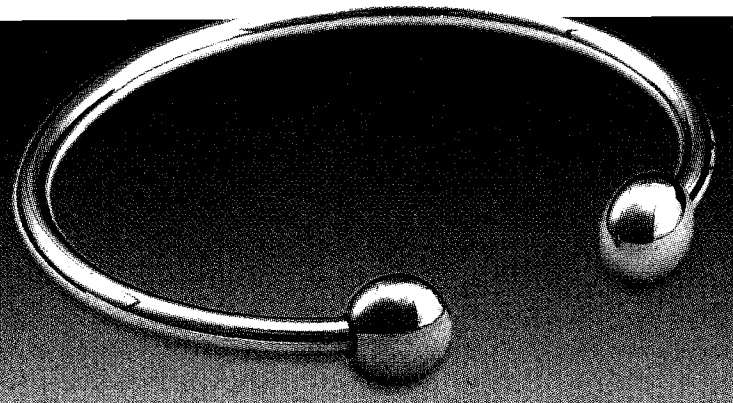

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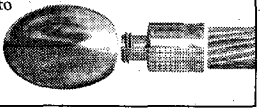

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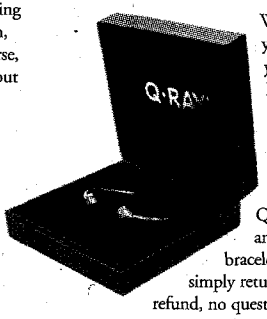

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One ad, which appeared in newspapers and on a giant Times Square billboard, showed two preschool-aged boys laughing and jumping on a sofa in their briefs. A public outcry ensued, and one critic suggested that genitals were discernible in the photo. "I went back and looked," Adler writes. "One of the little boys' underpants seem baggy as he jumps in midair. Is that an outline of his genitals I wondered? It was then, as I scrutinized the picture of the five-year-old's underwear, that I realized I was participating in a new order, a world created and compelled by child pornography." She wonders if that world is provoking more real sex abuse.

The possibility of real abuse should be carefully investigated, Adler notes, and this is where photos and videos can be quite useful. Creepy but not overtly sexual images can prompt inquiry into what else, if anything, the adult was doing besides taking pictures. "Prosecute people who molest children as molesters," she says, and not as the creators of borderline photos and videos. "Pursue the underlying act. Not the representation."

Legal scholar John Wirenius, author of *First Amendment, First Principles*, suggests that privacy laws might be used to address some of the moral wrongdoing associated with producing borderline representations. In New York State, for instance, it's often a criminal misdemeanor to film or photograph people in public, then sell the pictures or use them in advertising. The principle embodied in this law could be applied to cases like *Knox*, where someone videotaped the clothed pelvic areas of young girls in a park doing gymnastics, then marketed the tapes. If that had happened in New York, the videographer probably could have been prosecuted, says Wirenius. But Knox was prosecuted in Pennsylvania, and most states' privacy statutes aren't as stringent as New York's. Nevertheless, says Wirenius, it's possible that privacy laws could be expanded "as a less coercive and less censorial means of protecting the legitimate interests of minors." Likewise for libel laws, says Adler.

These are compelling considerations for people at liberty to sit in armchairs. But they're academic for those in prison cells, like Bruce Craft. His appeals slog on with some success: Higher state courts have thrown out more than half his scores of convictions, mainly for those photos that judges decided don't look posed and don't show peeing or toilets. But since Craft's sentence is concurrent, he is still convicted for twenty years as long as even one "exploitation" count remains. As the time drags, he finds it harder and harder to answer letters from family and friends. It's more comforting to look back, to the last time there were kids in his life. That was in 2000, on the day he was sentenced.

Arguing that Craft should be given hundreds of years' hard time, the prosecutor averred that children had been unwittingly harmed by "being touched with this man's eyes." Yet not one "victim" appeared at the hearing to talk about being abused. Instead, several children came who'd already sent handwritten letters to the judge, telling him Craft was a "wonderful man" and that prosecuting him had been "wrong" and "stupid" and "I WISH this stuff would stop."

"I feel so bad like if we weren't his friends this would not have happened it's like it's all our fault," lamented one girl's letter. She and the others wanted to stand up in court and talk about their affection for Dr. Craft. They wanted to stress that their real hurt came from seeing him accused and convicted.

But the judge wouldn't allow it. Adults could testify, he said, but not minors. So the children sat on the benches silently, watching Craft locked up in their name. ■

MOST PALESTINIANS NOW SEEK UNITY AND A REPRIEVE FROM THE EXHAUSTION OF WAR.

Why Marwan Did Not Run

GRAHAM USHER

Ramallah

Mahmoud Abbas's home in Ramallah is a palatial villa spread on a hillside. Marwan Barghouti's is a second-floor flat in a six-story apartment block overhanging a gorge. It is not the only contrast between the two men, who until Barghouti's recent withdrawal from the race for the Palestinian presidential elections on January 9 were seen by Palestinians as the only real heirs to Yasir Arafat.

CAITLIN DOVER

Ever since he was anointed official candidate by Arafat's Fatah movement, Abbas (*a k a* Abu Mazen) has been treated as president-elect. Outgoing US Secretary of State Colin Powell and a string of other foreign dignitaries have visited him, eager to capitalize on the "new opportunity" afforded by Arafat's death and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to withdraw unilaterally from most of the occupied Gaza Strip and dismantle four small Jewish settlements in the northern West Bank.

Unlike his predecessor, Abbas has been allowed to travel, trying to thaw the frigid relations between the Palestinian Authority and Arab countries like Syria and Kuwait, still smarting from Arafat's decision to side with Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War.

Barghouti has been in jail, serving several life sentences for what Israel charges was his role in attacks that left four Israeli civilians and a Greek monk dead. For twenty-three hours of every day he is in a solitary cell, with one hour for exercise. December 1 was the first time his wife, Fadwa, had been allowed to see him since his arrest in April 2002.

In the space of one month Barghouti submitted his presidential candidacy twice—only to withdraw twice. His final change

Graham Usher is Palestine correspondent for The Economist *and* Middle East International.

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of heart came on December 12, when he endorsed Abbas "out of the higher national interests of the Palestinian people."

Perhaps. But Barghouti's on-again, off-again candidacy says much about the current state of Fatah, the leading Palestinian national movement, and the forces that will shape it as it steps, gingerly, into a post-Arafat world. It says even more about a new Palestinian mood in the occupied territories that—after the trauma of Arafat's death and four punishing years of armed revolt—is seeking unity rather than division, moderation rather than radicalism and peace rather than war, especially among Palestinians.

It was a different reality that, over the past decade of peace and then war, had nurtured Barghouti as the most inspiring leader of Fatah's so-called "insider" leadership: activists native to the West Bank and Gaza who came to the fore in the first and second Palestinian intifadas but who are underrepresented in Fatah's leadership institutions. Their main Palestinian adversary is the "outsiders," Fatah officials who returned with Arafat from exile in the 1990s and derived their legitimacy from him but who are widely charged with malfeasance in government and inadequacy in the national struggle against Israel.

Throughout the seven years of the Oslo peace process, the main rivalry between the insiders and outsiders was over democracy within Fatah, as the former tried to translate their strength on the ground into influence, or at least accountability, at the top. With the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in 2000, it was between those (like Abbas) who viewed militarization of the uprising as threatening the PA's survival because of the overpowering Israeli punishments it incurred and those (like Barghouti) who believed armed resistance, combined with negotiations, was the only way to realize Palestinians' core demand of national self-determination.

Throughout, the two wings were held in check by Arafat, who was adept at "siding now with this stream, now with that, while remaining immune from criticism," says Palestinian political analyst Khalil Shikaki. With Arafat's death, the expectation—and fear—among many Palestinians was that what had been a struggle for leadership within Fatah would degenerate into a factional war. It didn't happen. Barghouti quietly backed Abbas as a transitional candidate acceptable to all wings of the movement. The only complaint was over the way he had been chosen: It was the prerogative of Fatah's Central Committee and Revolutionary Council, ruling institutions whose last elections were in 1989 and, for that reason, are the last redoubts of the outsider leadership. Barghouti insisted that Fatah's presidential candidate should be chosen by primaries throughout the movement. On November 25 he sent word via his lawyer that he intended to run for president, a protest "not so much against the man [Abbas] as the method," says Qaddura Fares, a PA minister and Fatah activist.

But a trade was made. In return for Barghouti's standing down, Abbas agreed to new Palestinian parliamentary elections in May and, critically, new elections within Fatah in August, where "the old guard will be thanked for their contribution to the cause and told goodbye," says Fares. Barghouti endorsed Abbas. A week later he changed his mind. Why?

According to Fadwa Barghouti it was in response to "hundreds of messages urging him to stand from the Fatah grassroots and other Palestinian organizations." She was less frank about their

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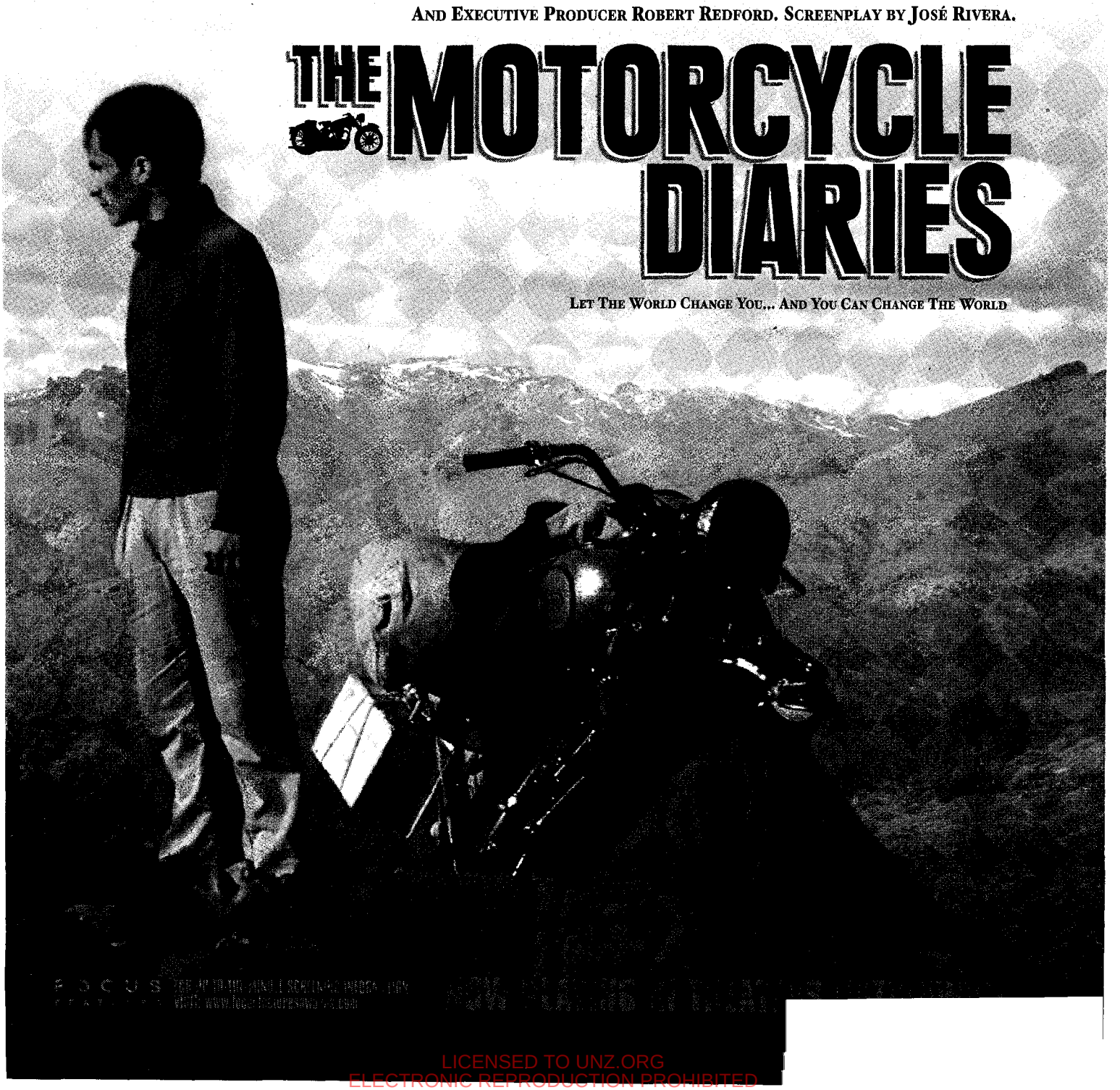

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tenor. Most charged that in abandoning the field to Abbas, Barghouti had lost his only leverage for forcing reform on Fatah and getting himself and the 7,600 other Palestinian political prisoners released. It is difficult to overestimate the emotive and political power of that charge. Throughout the Oslo process, Abbas and the other outsider leaders were widely accused of ignoring the plight of the prisoners in the negotiations with Israel, one of several grievances that ignited the uprising in 2000. During his brief tenure as Palestinian prime minister last year, Abbas likewise failed to extract any but the most miserly releases from Israel. The fear was that history was being replayed, especially as Abbas has conspicuously failed to predicate a return to negotiations with Israel on the prisoners' freedom, or on any other national issue.

"As soon as he backed Abu Mazen, Marwan realized he had made a mistake," says Fatah activist and PA deputy minister for prisoner affairs Ziad Abu Ein. "When Marwan was considering running for president, he saw the PA exert all kinds of pressures on Israel and the Americans to have him freed. But once he endorsed Abu Mazen, the pressures stopped. He realized he had played his last card without getting anything in return—that while he was strong with the grassroots, he was weak with the leadership."

That leadership continued to thwart him, but it was strengthened by a new Palestinian consensus that drew back from the prospect of replacing a besieged leader with an imprisoned one. The fear was that such a choice would renew the Palestinians' diplomatic isolation and, above all, pit Fatah against Fatah. The fears were not unfounded. Barghouti's candidacy was opposed not only by the Fatah establishment but also by the world. Colin Powell called the candidacy "problematic"; Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak demanded that Barghouti stand down; and Britain conditioned a scheduled conference in support of the PA on Abbas (and only Abbas) being elected its president.

Barghouti presumably anticipated this opposition, though not perhaps the scale or venom. What he may not have expected was the degree of hostility from what had been his core constituencies in Fatah: parliamentary deputies like Fares, prisoner leaders and militias like the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, which, in 2002, had declared him their leader. All accused him of divisiveness; some called for his resignation, including West Bank AMB leader Zacharia Zubeidi. His and the prisoner stances are not as surprising as they appear. In the garrison realities that now prevail in the occupied West Bank, many detainees and fighters see Abbas, and the international and regional legitimacy he commands, as perhaps their only hope for an early release or general amnesty. For others, Barghouti's candidacy was unwelcome because it conflated the demand for reform, which commands near unanimous support in Fatah, with the demand for resistance, which does not.

"Marwan supports negotiations with Israel only if they end the occupation," says Abu Ein. "Otherwise the intifada must continue. Abu Mazen is against any kind of struggle. He believes only negotiations and international pressure will force Israel to accept a Palestinian state. In running for the candidacy Marwan was saying to Abu Mazen: 'Fine: you have your way and I have mine. Now let the people decide.'"

Fares says it was the wrong choice at the wrong time: "I know Palestinians will tell you they support the martyrdom [suicide] operations and the armed struggle, but believe me, they don't. The punishment is simply too great." Rather, he says, most seek a reprieve from the exhaustion of war and the occupation and are hungry for normalcy, reform, institution-building and, above all, unity. "We don't need Marwan to stand now. We need Fatah united behind one candidate so that elections can take place without giving Israel any pretext to refuse to negotiate with us."

There is one exception to the emerging consensus. On December 1 the Palestinian Islamist organization Hamas called on its supporters to boycott the presidential elections. It also reaffirmed its commitment to armed resistance in the teeth of pleas by Abbas for, if not a cease-fire, then "quiet" during the voting period. The ostensible reason was the PA's refusal to announce a date for parliamentary elections, which the Islamists may contest. There were others.

One is Israel's ongoing raid, arrest and assassination policies, which in the weeks after Arafat's death on November 11 killed more than forty Palestinians, many of them Hamas men. Another is that Hamas is raising the stakes in negotiations with Abbas over the terms of a Palestinian cease-fire, its participation in the parliamentary elections and its role in a future Palestinian government. But the main reason is Hamas's strategic aim of casting Israel's withdrawal from Gaza as a south Lebanon–like flight rather than a "coordinated" disengagement. On December 12 Hamas and Fatah guerrillas killed five Israeli soldiers courtesy of a 500-meter-long tunnel packed with explosives that erupted under their outpost on the Gaza-Egyptian border. It was "the most lethal of its kind since the start of the conflict," said one Israeli commentator.

Few Palestinians believe such resistance will end—elections or no elections—unless Israel, through Abbas, meets Hamas's fundamental terms for a truce: an end to the assassinations, incursions and arrests, and the freeing of prisoners.

Would Barghouti have won, running on a platform with virtually identical demands? Most polls showed Abbas commanding solid majorities, particularly among Palestine's urban middle class: merchants, businesspeople and intellectuals who, after the chaos, decline and isolation of Arafat's rule, view with relief Abbas's opposition to the armed intifada, his advocacy of law and order, and his support for economic development and sound relations with Israel, America, Europe and the Arab world. But the same polls showed Barghouti drawing considerable support from women, the poor, the young, villagers and the refugees, whose right of return to their homes in what was Mandate Palestine but is now Israel he defined as the most "fundamental" of Palestinian rights, along with sovereignty in East Jerusalem.

For Shikaki, whose research center has long tracked Barghouti as the most popular leader in the occupied territories after Arafat and whose latest poll had him running even with Abbas, Barghouti could have won had he stayed "until the end." At the very least, his candidacy would have given Palestinians a long-needed referendum on "continuing or ending the intifada, which he helped to instigate," Shikaki says.

With Barghouti's retreat they will be denied that choice. Instead, they will be faced with a candidate whose sole policy is the hope that negotiations and an end to the militarized intifada will force the Israeli government to reciprocate and, should it refuse, for the world and the Israeli people to intervene. The challengers are past such intervention. They are in jail or mining tunnels in Gaza. ■

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THE LIBERAL MEDIA

(Continued From Page 11)

Finally, in his zeal to attack liberals who dared to point out the dangers of supporting the Bush Administration's misuse of the "war on terror" to invade irrelevant countries and destroy civil liberties at home, Beinart whitewashes its extremism and in doing so, empowers it. Citing MoveOn's contention that the Patriot Act had "nullified large portions of the Bill of Rights," Beinart claims the group "grossly inflated the Act's effect...[and] then contrasted it with the—implicitly far smaller—danger from Al Qaeda," embodying "civil-libertarian alarmism at its worst—vastly exaggerating the threat from John Ashcroft in order to downplay the threat from Al Qaeda." Yet Beinart neither examines the Patriot Act nor explains how concern with its impact on civil liberties is incompatible with concern for protecting America from terrorism.

In fact, the Bush Administration's willingness to exploit the tools that Americans' legitimate fear of terrorism has placed at its disposal poses a threat to US civil liberties that requires no exaggeration from anyone. As the case of José Padilla has demonstrated, George W. Bush and his advisers claim the right to arrest any American citizen they choose and incarcerate that citizen indefinitely, denying him the right to outside counsel. In the case of foreigners, it claims the same rights, but adds the techniques of torture and the refusal even to reveal the identities of those it has arrested. Just what good is a Bill of Rights if it cannot protect you from police-state tactics like these?

(Keep in mind that I have only scratched the surface of the problems with Beinart's piece. I've left untouched, for instance, his hopelessly inappropriate analogy between Soviet totalitarianism and violent Islamic fundamentalism. Unlike, say, Al Qaeda, the Soviet Union was fundamentally a conservative power, uninterested in inciting revolutions it could not control. We were not dealing then, as we are now, with the potential to inspire thousands of freelance terrorists armed with dirty bombs or worse. Nor have I dissected Beinart's mistaken attribution of Kerry's nomination to his willingness to vote against the $87 billion appropriation for the war in Iraq; something he asserts sans evidence.)

However dramatic its presentation, Beinart's argument amounts to little more than a fact-challenged, intellectually garbled, ideologically motivated attempt to read his opponents out of a debate that he has already lost. The vast majority of liberals are not willing to buy into this more sophisticated version of the Bush/Cheney/Rove/Rumsfeld vision of endless war unimpeded by any form of dissent or even tough questioning of its efficacy as a means of achieving its domestic goals. Beinart is correct that we need a rethinking of how to present liberalism as a "fighting faith" that appeals to a majority of Americans. Unfortunately, he has used the occasion merely to engage in more of the same sectarian sniping his magazine has employed in the past—most often in the service of undermining the possibility of a genuine liberal alternative to the neoconservatives' ideological fantasies. Beinart's solution fails miserably as a starting point for debate about how to save America, and the world, from future decades of Republican misrule, no less than the liberal war hawks did in their attempts to steer George W. Bush in a more "progressive" direction in his pursuit of an American-led imperium in the Middle East.

Now let the real debate begin... ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

tain 45,000 signatures to fight for a legislative quota of 40 percent women in the temporary constitution. They obtained a set "goal" of 25 percent, in contrast to the average of 3 percent women in the legislatures in other countries in the region.

Flanders and Ross argue that women's groups in Iraq should not be diverted from working on their number-one problem, "contaminated water." But only women having the legally enforceable right to be equal political partners when development and budget priorities are established can solve water and all other health and economic problems.

To this end WAFDI, in August, sponsored training for women in Iraq on international human rights, stressing women's rights under CEDAW, the UN's legislation against discriminating against women, which Iraq ratified and made part of domestic law in 1992. Among the participants were women running for congress, judges and prosecutors. I was the international lawyer doing this pro bono training. No government funds were used, and travel expenses were raised from private foundations.

This conference was the first of its kind in maybe thirty years. Iraq's ratification of CEDAW gives Iraqi women legally enforceable political rights, which are now part of Iraq's domestic law but which are being routinely ignored even by the United Nations, a sponsor of the treaty. (No mention in *The Nation*, either, of CEDAW and its application to women and political power in Iraq.) By implying that by association WAFDI is "anti-CEDAW," Flanders and Ross turn the truth around. No other group has printed out explanations of CEDAW in both English and Arabic.

Democracy and human rights for women—for all people in Iraq—seem to be further and further from reality. But for those of us who believe in going forward, it is important that women are supported, not undermined, in their efforts to rescue their country—and our world.

JANET BENSHOOF

FLANDERS & ROSS REPLY

New York City; Minneapolis

■ Aw, come on Janet. We'd be the last to undervalue the intelligence and courage of Iraqi women living under US occupation. (A cursory listen to Laura Flanders's radio show proves that.) The insinuations and implications you attribute to us are all your own. Our point, that the Bush Administration and its cronies are using the rhetoric of women's rights to advance their unpopular corporate agenda, doesn't contradict yours—that Iraqi women must have equal political voice in their nation's affairs. The question we raise is whether political voice will be meaningful if the Bush crew have their way, and the economic terms of the country are decided by multinationals and the US/WTO. Our research suggests the Independent Womens' Forum is more dedicated to choreographing Iraqi assent to US plans than achieving either political self-determination or economic justice for Iraqis. LAURA FLANDERS, LAURA ROSS

HER HERO

Kailua-Kona, Hi.

■ Let's give a cheer for Calvin Trillin,
The greatest thing since penicillin.
Exposing all our leaders' crimes—
And, best of all, his onslaught rhymes.
Though neocons may brand him villain,
He's still my hero: Calvin Trillin.

KATHERINE KOCH

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 8)

last public address as head of the woman suffrage movement.

The speech Stanton delivered, "Solitude of Self," was to become famous the world over. While the idea of human individuality was a declaration of proud independence, she suggested, it was also a recognition that we are, in fact, a world of Robinson Crusoes, each of us alone on the island of life. Loneliness, Stanton observed, was the norm, connection an ideal. In our innermost being we remain solitary and, as we grow older, the solitariness increases. How unspeakable, then, it struck her, that worldly arrangements should contribute to the forlornness of one's natural state! Politics is meant to mitigate the misery to which our inborn condition consigns us, not add to it. It is precisely because this loneliness is our inner reality, she continued, that "every human soul [should be fitted] for independent action." To deny anyone the tools of survival—that is, the power to act—is criminal. The strongest reason she knew for giving women every means of enlarging their sphere of action was the ultimate solitariness of life.

Stanton read these words into a silent room. No one clapped, no one spoke. Not because the audience was profoundly moved but because a voice speaking existential truth was not, at this politically conservative moment, what was wanted. Yet, it was a very American speech, one that any of the original Revolutionaries might have made, bent as he would have been on forcing politics to reflect a secular insistence: the idea that equality would let one grow a self strong and independent enough to do battle with life's irreducible starkness. Not another American feminist had ever, until that moment in 1892, placed the cause of women's rights so squarely at the center of such perceptions. I can still remember thinking, with gratitude and excitement, as I read Stanton's words for the first time eighty years after they were written, "We are beginning where she left off."

I've been thinking a great deal about Elizabeth Stanton since George Bush won the election. Here's the train of my thought:

During Stanton's time (1815–1902) thousands of reformers like herself—abolitionists, suffragists, temperance workers—committed their lives to understanding better the relation between politics and the human condition. These commitments were met with violent opposition by those who dreaded the potential for unrest that such considerations threatened. Opposition created a cultural divide that deepened into crisis. The great reform movements, as well as the 1857 publication of *The Origin of Species*—not to mention the Civil War itself—had influenced the shared sensibility more profoundly than was popularly understood and left millions psychologically stranded. Many found themselves unable to retreat into the Christian simplicity of God is Love, yet equally unable to go forward into the cold excitement of science and secularism. The crisis induced an astonishing upsurge in spiritualism—that is, a belief in communion with the dead. Thousands of altogether worthy people began to sit stock still, extending their hands around the séance table, praying with eyes wide shut that this intolerable littleness to which life had brought them wasn't, couldn't, be all that there was. The list of famous and accomplished men and women who, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, subscribed to spiritualism is deeply moving.

The liberationist movements of the 1960s and '70s—blacks, women, gays—raised the same issues and the same anxieties as did the reform movements of the nineteenth century. They spoke to the same core question—"What exactly does a human being need from society to go on feeling human?"—and they created the same dynamic: a large incursion on the public consciousness induced a gathering alarm culminating in a major retreat into nearly mystic religious belief. This last is now the declared character of the culture war that began forty years ago and has climaxed in the election of a Christian fundamentalist to the presidency. As a result, America is regarded as one of the most religious countries in the West. But in fact, the culture is best described as strongly if insecurely secular. This rise in religious belief is always a symptom, never a cause, in this country, of the deep unrest brought on by every serious effort to achieve a more just democracy.

Elizabeth Stanton spoke that day in 1892 in Washington more in sorrow than in anger. She understood fully that the mass of people cannot bear the psychological weight of being asked to live with the sense of breakup that comes with social change. In our own time, legalized abortion and gay marriage have become the symbols of a similar request—and the fear and excitement they have generated is nothing short of remarkable.

To my mind, these developments are a measure of how far the insights of the 1960s went, and how live a nerve the liberationist movements have struck. George Bush is not the beginning of something new in America, he is the end of one more round in the ongoing drama of America's struggle with itself to face directly into the meaning—and consequence—of something that cuts deeper than class interests. In every century, the reformers and their opponents have come to represent a war within the culture (ongoing since the Revolution) between those who quail before the specter of unlimited secular democracy and those who would take the idea to the point where it meets the declared promise of the Republic. This perpetual inner division parallels uncannily that of a single human being struggling to resolve the internal conflicts that hobble every one of us.

However crippling our conflicted condition is, it is the known reality; and what we know, we become ineluctably devoted to. In order to reach the deeper reality we must leave the known one behind. We understand this, and with our intelligence we agree to it, but even as we struggle to do so we are regretting the loss of that with which we have lived so long; a terrible nostalgia for the comfort of familiar dysfunction endangers the entire effort every step of the way. It takes work—harder, more sustained, more resolved than anyone could have imagined—just to stay with it.

The paradox is that by doing the work required to reach the deeper truth about ourselves we individuate—and it is only through individuation that we acquire the freedom to connect with our fellow creatures. For a society as well as an individual, it is equally true that only by giving up the false comfort of the familiar does it arrive at the place where it can extend to its citizens the moral compassion that alone derives from seeing things as they are.

VIVIAN GORNICK

Vivian Gornick has just completed The Solitude of Self: Thinking About Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *to be published next fall by Farrar, Straus and Giroux.*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Israel's Culture of Martyrdom

BARUCH KIMMERLING

DEATH AND THE NATION: History, Memory, Politics.
By Idith Zertal.
Dvir. 315 pp. In Hebrew.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE HOLOCAUST: The Struggle Between Jews and Zionists in the Aftermath of World War II.
By Yosef Grodzinsky, with a foreword by Rabbi Michael Lerner.
Common Courage. 279 pp. Paper $19.95.

Nations like to imagine themselves as unique, but one belief they have in common is that it is noble to die in their name. Death and redemption are the themes of almost every form of patriotism. In the case of Israel, however, the connection between nationalism and death is especially visceral. For the Jewish state is a nation that emerged from the ashes of a project of extermination, and that sees itself as the best defense against the renewal of violent persecution. Zionism, the state's ruling ideology, is a triumphal creed shadowed by death.

The Israeli historian Idith Zertal argues that the nexus of death and nationalism is essential to understanding Israeli society today. In her powerful new book, *Death and the Nation* (which will be published in an English translation this summer by Cambridge University Press under the title *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*), she demonstrates how the catastrophes of Jewish history have been transformed into nationalist fables of heroism, victory and redemption. In debunking the official nationalist historiography, Zertal's book follows in the footsteps of works such as Nachman Ben-Yehuda's *The Masada Myth* and Yael Zerubavel's *Recovered Roots*, both of which explored how ancient Jewish history was distorted to serve the needs of the Zionist movement. What sets Zertal's book apart is her focus on death. She believes that an obsession with death and martyrdom has vitally shaped the way Israelis understand themselves and their state. One of her recurring themes is "ancient graves produce fresh graves."

At the center of this culture of death is the remembrance of martyrs—Jews who, in Zionist ideology, had to die so that the state might be born. The central chapter in the construction of Israeli martyrology was, of course, the Holocaust, but it began well before, according to Zertal, who traces it to the cult surrounding Joseph Trumpeldor, the first hero of the Jews who settled in Palestine. "Never mind dying," Trumpeldor is reported to have said shortly before his death in 1920. "It is good to die for our country."

A triumphal creed shadowed by death, Zionism transformed the catastrophes of Jewish history into nationalist fables of redemption.

Born in a small town in the northern Caucasus, Trumpeldor was strongly influenced in his youth by a nearby farming commune established by followers of Leo Tolstoy, a model that soon merged in his mind with the Zionist ideal of settling Palestine. In 1912 he made his way to Palestine, hoping to establish agricultural communes. The kibbutznik, however, ended up achieving distinction not as a farmer but as a soldier. Drafted into the Russian army in 1902, he lost an arm in the Russo-Japanese War. He went on to serve as the deputy commander of a Jewish brigade established by the British in World War I, participating in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915.

When he returned to Palestine four years later, he was called by the Jewish community leadership to northern Galilee to help organize the defense of small frontier-zone outposts against attacks by Arab militias allied with the newly established, British-backed regime of Faysal in Damascus. These outposts had been created by Jewish settlers as a way of establishing the

Baruch Kimmerling, George S. Wise Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is the author of two recently published books, Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians *(Verso) and, with Joel S. Migdal,* The Palestinian People: A History *(Harvard).*

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northern border of Palestine, an issue of contention between France and Britain. In 1920, a year after his return to Palestine, Trumpeldor was mortally wounded while defending the outposts at Tel Hai, a commemorative "holy place." Along with five of his comrades, he was buried near Tel Hai. In 1934 a memorial was erected at his gravesite, and it soon became, for Zionist youth movements, a place of pilgrimage nearly as important as Masada, where, according to the Zionist interpretation of Flavius Josephus, Jewish rebels committed mass suicide rather than surrender to the Romans in AD 73.

The remembrance of Trumpeldor's death at Tel Hai, argues Zertal, marked the beginning of a cult of death among Israeli Jews. The "new Jewish man," in this ideology, was ready to make the ultimate sacrifice, to die defending his land and people, in stark contrast with Diaspora Jews, who would later be depicted as weaker souls who went "like lambs to the slaughter" in the Holocaust. The voices arguing that it is better to live for one's country than to die for it were accordingly stifled and silenced. It is deeply ironic that the very same society now claims to be shocked by the "martyrdom culture" in the occupied territories.

The Tel Hai affair also established the basic pattern of conflict management with the Arabs. As Zertal points out, the Zionist leadership made appeals to the defenders of Tel Hai to withdraw, citing their poor weapons and their immense numerical inferiority. After a heated debate, this option was rejected by the Jewish community leadership (with the exception of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founding father of the Zionist right). In this moment, we can see the seeds of the idea that the construction of Jewish settlements—the creation of "facts on the ground," in contemporary Israeli parlance—should be the major tool by which to establish the geopolitical boundaries of Jewish control over Israel-Palestine. The line that runs from Tel Hai to "Judea and Samaria" may be twisted, but it is more direct than some would like to imagine.

Death was an inescapable presence in the early days of the Jewish state, which had recently become a sanctuary for hundreds of thousands of Holocaust survivors. Israeli leaders have often invoked the Holocaust as the ultimate justification for the Jewish state (and, more cynically, for Israel's counterinsurgency tactics in the occupied territories). Yet as Zertal shows, Israel's relationship to Holocaust victims has been highly ambivalent, and the state's treatment of survivors has sometimes been strikingly manipulative.

This point is clearly illustrated by Yosef Grodzinsky, a neurolinguist at Tel Aviv University, in his new book, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust*, a detailed and well-researched account of the struggle between the survivors of the Holocaust and the various Zionist agencies and emissaries who pressured them to immigrate to Palestine, regardless of the survivors' own wishes, through superior organizational skills and connections with the US military and civilian authorities.

David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, had little concern for Holocaust survivors except as future residents of the Jewish state.

The Holocaust presented a unique set of challenges for the Zionist movement. On the one hand, the major reservoir of Jewish candidates for immigration to Palestine had been annihilated. On the other hand, between 1945 and 1951 millions of displaced people and refugees, 330,000 of them Jewish Holocaust survivors, were desperately wandering the roads of Europe in search of a home. Many of these survivors could potentially be directed to Palestine, especially since the immigration gates of the United States were all but closed. This created a unique opportunity to bring an unprecedented number of Jews to Palestine. At the same time, these potential immigrants suffered from high rates of malnutrition, physical degeneration and illness. Most had no family and no home to which they could return or be repatriated. They were completely disoriented and many were still influenced by the Nazi worldview, which regarded them as subhumans, as Bruno Bettelheim (himself a camp survivor) has described. However, until the camps for Jewish displaced persons and refugees were fully dismantled, less than 40 percent of the survivors came to Palestine (or Israel, after its establishment in 1948), in spite of heavy pressures by the Zionist agencies: a disappointing proportion, given the movement's initial expectations.

David Ben-Gurion, the leader of the Zionist movement and Israel's first prime minister, viewed the future Jewish homeland as the one and only destination for the survivors, as Zertal makes clear in an illuminating discussion of the odyssey of the 4,500 survivors from German camps who set sail in July 1947 as "illegal immigrants" on a ship later named Exodus. The real story of the ship was far less glorious than the one told in Leon Uris's 1958 bestseller and Otto Preminger's 1960 film. When the ship embarked, the UN Special Committee on Palestine was holding discussions and Ben-Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, the primary governing body of the state-in-formation, felt that the plight of Jewish refugees in Europe needed to be dramatized in order to attract more sympathy for the Jewish struggle over Palestine. The British authorities had refused to let the immigrants disembark in Palestine, or even to take refuge in transitional camps in Cyprus, forcing the boat to be redirected back to Germany. To prevent such a ghastly outcome, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann persuaded the French Prime Minister, Leon Blum, to host the refugees. Ben-Gurion rejected this solution out of hand, and the poor survivors remained on board for seven months.

Ben-Gurion's insensitivity was rooted in his "Palestine-centric" attitude, best exemplified by his 1938 remark that "if I knew it was possible to save all children of Germany by their transfer to England and only half of them by transferring them to the Land of Israel, I would choose the latter, because we are faced not only with the accounting of these children but also with the historical accounting of the Jewish people." This was not merely a rhetorical declaration. Grodzinsky tells us with great pain how Ben-Gurion and other Zionist leaders vetoed the immigration of 1,000 orphans, who were in physical and emotional danger as a result of the harsh winter of 1945, from the camps in Germany to England, where the Jewish community had managed to secure them permits. Another group of roughly 500 children of camp inhabitants was barred, after Zionist intervention, from reaching France, whose rabbinical institutions had offered them safe haven.

Ben-Gurion's strategy in the Exodus affair paid off. The fate of the refugee ship attracted considerable and sympathetic attention around the world, and served the Zionist cause well. Few observers at the time knew that many of the refugees from the Exodus had applied for immigration visas to the United States, and were hardly anxious to settle in Israel. By dramatizing the fate of the survivors, in whom he had little interest except as future residents of the state he was building (*Good Human Material* is the original Hebrew title of Grodzinsky's book), Ben-Gurion helped to make Israel the world's chief power

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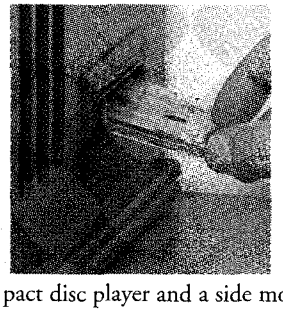

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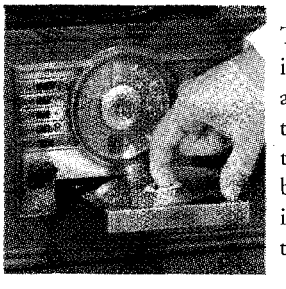

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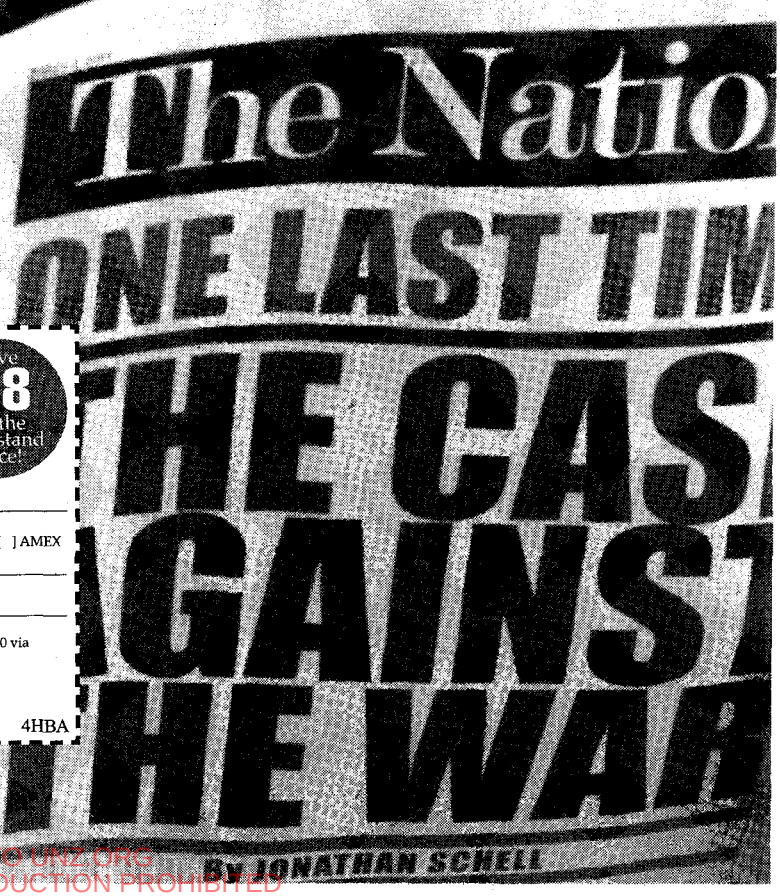

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Janeane Garofalo is a longstanding *Nation* reader.

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broker over Jewish affairs. Under his leadership, Israel established a claim to represent all of world Jewry, and on this basis successfully claimed reparations from the Federal Republic of Germany. Indeed, as Zertal argues, Israel acquired the right to speak not only for living Jews but for the 6 million exterminated Jews, to whom Ben-Gurion suggested granting symbolic citizenship—in effect, turning them into martyrs for the Jewish state.

Another affair described in detail by Grodzinsky concerns the preparation and conscription of the displaced persons in European camps for participation in the Arab-Jewish struggle over Palestine. From 1946, the Palestinian Jewish underground militia organizations—mainly Ben-Gurion's Haganah—attempted to recruit veteran Jewish partisans from Russia, Poland and France for the anticipated war. Moreover, in February 1948 the Haganah issued a call to every fit man and woman in the European camps between the ages of 17 and 35, seeking volunteers for the military forces of the embryonic Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionist movement's assumption that the survivors in the camps would become citizens of Israel and fight on its behalf aroused resentment among many of them.

At the same time, the sense of existential fear in the Jewish community of Palestine, roughly 600,000 in number and short on weapons, was quite real. There was a deep anxiety that the coming intercommunal (and perhaps interstate) war could lead to their annihilation. The sense of urgency led a number of inhabitants of the camps in Europe to join the Haganah, which provided a degree of pride and some psychological compensation for the horrors they had suffered. In addition, it rescued them from their miserable lives in the camps.

Yet the request for volunteers yielded only about 700 recruits. The majority of survivors were in no mood to take up arms for the Jewish state. "We have already smelled fire, let others smell it now," said one. As Grodzinsky shows, the low number of volunteers led, from April 1948 onward, to "compulsory conscription" in the camps in Germany and Austria. This "compulsory conscription" was implemented by the autonomous camp managers through a variety of means, among them firing employees from their jobs; evicting tenants from their houses; denying food supplies; arrests and beatings; and the threat of ostracism from the community. The number of draftees rose to 7,800, many of whom disembarked from the ships only to be sent directly to the battlefield to die for their new homeland.

After the war, under pressure from Holocaust survivors, Israel's Knesset passed the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law, in 1950. The law, tailored in accordance with the Nuremberg precedent, required a mandatory death sentence for every person found guilty of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, without any differentiation between the degree and scope of their crimes. The law's intention was mainly symbolic since, as Zertal observes, nobody seriously considered the possibility that Israel would bring Nazis to trial after Nuremberg, even if some Nazis succeeded in escaping justice. The passage of this law, however, would have unintended and far-reaching consequences.

The Zionist movement's assumption that survivors in the European camps would become citizens of Israel angered many of them.

Initially intended to punish Nazis and their collaborators in Eastern and Central Europe, the law turned sharply against certain Jews themselves. During the 1950s dozens of Jewish men and women were sued by Holocaust survivors who identified them as *kapos*—Jewish supervisors in death and concentration camps—or as former members of the Judenräte, the Jewish community councils that provided the Nazis with lists of community members and organized the transports to the camps. In most of these cases the sentences were light, since the judges felt that most of the Jewish collaborators were themselves victims and that the 1950 act was not designed to apply to them. Nonetheless, the boundary between perpetrators and victims began to be blurred in disturbing ways, raising troubling questions about the role some Jews had played in the Nazi campaign of destruction.

In the 1954 Kastner affair, the carefully policed boundary between victim and perpetrator all but evaporated, upsetting the stability of Israel's entire political system. The controversy broke out after a 71-year-old Hungarian Jew, Malkiel Gruenwald, published a pamphlet in which he accused another Hungarian Jew, 48-year-old Dr. Rudolf Kastner, of collaborating with the Nazis in Hungary between 1944 and 1945. Kastner had assumed various leadership roles within the Jewish community in Hungary and Transylvania before and during the war, including the chairmanship of the "rescue committee" of Jews who escaped from countries occupied by Nazi Germany. After arriving in Palestine in 1946, he became a prominent member of Ben-Gurion's ruling Labor party (then known as Mapai) and was to be its candidate for the Knesset in the coming election. Kastner also occupied several influential positions, including spokesman of the Trade and Industry Ministry, director of broadcasting in Hungarian and Romanian, chief editor of *Uj Kelet* (a Hungarian daily) and chairman of the Organization of Hungarian Jewry in Israel.

According to Gruenwald, Kastner, in his capacity as a Jewish community leader in Hungary, had provided indispensable assistance to SS Lieutenant Col. Adolf Eichmann in the latter's efforts to ship a half-million Hungarian and Transylvanian Jews to the extermination camps. At the time Eichmann was head of the Gestapo department in charge of Jewish matters and population evacuation. Eichmann had been largely responsible for the deportation to the East of nearly 190,000 Austrian Jews from March 1938 onward. Eichmann had also participated in the January 1942 Wannsee conference, where the administrative and logistic details of the "final solution to the Jewish problem" were settled. He was not, it must be underscored, a policy-maker in the Third Reich, and his activities and decisions were mostly bureaucratic. Even his negotiations with the Jewish dignitaries and Nazi-appointed or self-appointed Judenräte were aimed at achieving a well-organized and well-run transportation process to the camps. His role, on arriving in Budapest in March 1944, was to send a half-million Hungarian Jews to their death as swiftly and efficiently as possible.

To accomplish this goal, Eichmann needed Jewish collaborators like Kastner, since he was understaffed, with an SS team of 150 men and only a few thousand Hungarian soldiers at his disposal. Eichmann knew that the Jews would not go voluntarily to the so-called resettlement areas at the behest of the Nazis or the Hungarian authorities. The only people they would trust were their own leaders. Here, Kastner played a major role. He and his staff had to make sure that the Jews were not informed of the real destination of the trains. Misled by Kastner and others like him, the Jews showed up dutifully at the trains in the belief that they were merely being resettled. Some even made efforts to get on the earlier trains in order to have a better choice of housing in the new settlements. In exchange for Kastner's help, Gruenwald alleged, the

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Nazis gave the gift of life in June 1944, organizing a special rescue train for him and 1,600 Jewish notables, including Kastner's relatives and friends.

Charged with slander by Israel's attorney general, Gruenwald hired the services of a young, able and highly motivated lawyer, Shmuel Tamir. Tamir had his own political agenda, as did Gruenwald and the judge presiding over the trial, Benjamin Halevi. All three men were veterans of the right-wing Lehi underground during the British colonial period and were vehement opponents of Ben-Gurion's government, which Kastner represented. During the trial, one of Israel's most dramatic ever, Tamir succeeded in turning the tables on his client's accuser, arguing that the Jewish leadership in Palestine had sabotaged a series of attempts to rescue Jews during the Holocaust. In his verdict, which cleared the accused of slander, Judge Halevi rejected most of Gruenwald's charges against the Jewish leadership (during Eichmann's trail, the judge would maintain a discreet silence about this painful issue), but he accepted the main one: that Kastner had collaborated with the Nazis and "sold his soul to the devil."

Following the Gruenwald verdict, an appeal was submitted to the High Court of Justice, but in March 1957 Kastner was assassinated. Three people were arrested, accused and sentenced for the murder, but even today the assassination is a matter of contention. The official version is that the assassins belonged to a tiny right-wing underground group inspired by the fringe right-wing zealot Israel (Sheib) Eldad. Zertal's account, however, is closer to the alternative version, advanced by extremist right- and left-wing groups, according to which Kaster was eliminated by the state security services because he proved too much of an embarrassment for the government. Posthumously, the High Court cleared Kastner of responsibility for any of the crimes of which Gruenwald accused him, except for that of false testimony on behalf of Nazi officer Kurt Becher at the Nuremberg trial.

Zertal's preference for the unofficial version of Kastner's assassination is not incidental. This version reinforces the link she makes between the Kastner trial and the extraordinary trial that followed it, that of Adolf Eichmann, whose capture by Israeli agents in Argentina Ben-Gurion announced in the Knesset in May 1960. According to Zertal, there were several motives behind Ben-Gurion's decision to bring Eichmann to trial in Israel. The first and most immediate was to correct the impression left by the Gruenwald-Kastner trial, namely that the Jewish leadership in Palestine failed to undertake any serious rescue efforts on behalf of their European brethren during the Holocaust. Second, in spite of his initial discomfort with the subject and his insensitivity toward survivors, Ben-Gurion sought to turn the Holocaust into the central pillar of Israeli identity and to use it as the main basis upon which to legitimize the Zionist project. Third, the Eichmann case could be used as a tool to equate Israel's Arab enemies with the Nazis. Fourth, the trial helped cast Israel as the representative and savior of world Jewry.

With the Eichmann trial, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion sought to turn the Holocaust into the central pillar of Israeli identity.

The trial lasted from April to August of 1961. Eichmann was sentenced to death and executed in Ramleh Prison in May 1962. It was a show trial, not because the accused was innocent—Eichmann was responsible for staggering crimes against humanity—but because the trial was a grand attempt to shape Jewish and Holocaust history and memory by a single man, Ben-Gurion, and because it had far less to do with the task of proving Eichmann's guilt. (Ben-Gurion went to great lengths to keep post-Holocaust Germany—the "New Germany," as he called it—and the West German leadership out of the trial, so as not to embarrass Israel's new military and economic ally, West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.) The entire narrative was set in motion from the very first statement made by Attorney General Gideon Hausner:

> When I stand before you here, judges of Israel, to lead the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I am not standing alone. With me are 6 million accusers. But they cannot rise to their feet and point an accusing finger toward him who sits in the dock and cry: "I accuse." For their ashes are piled up on the hills of Auschwitz and the fields of Treblinka, and are strewn in the forests of Poland. Their graves are scattered throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Their blood cries out, but their voice is not heard. Therefore I will be their spokesman and in their name I will unfold this awesome indictment.

Over four months, day after day, witnesses recounted the horrors of the death camps, the heroism of Jewish partisans and soldiers who fought the Nazis, especially the hopeless uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto. As Zertal observes, the Jewish resistance was presented as having been organized and led solely by Zionist movements and their leaders, while the role of the Bundists, Beitarists and Communists was either downplayed or ignored. Marek Edelman, one of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the deputy commander of the uprising under Mordechai Anielewicz, was not even mentioned. Edelman, who represented the Jewish Socialist Party (Bund), opposed Anielewicz's decision to commit suicide (accompanied with the murder of one's relatives). After the war, Edelman rejected the very idea that one could draw "lessons" from the Holocaust, as well as the notion that Zionism provided the "answer" to the Jewish question. He remained in Poland and achieved fame as a leading cardiologist and a key figure in the Solidarity labor movement of the 1980s. In 1946 he published one of the first accounts of the ghetto uprising, *The Ghetto Fights*, in Polish, Yiddish and English. The book was translated into Hebrew only in 2001.

The Eichmann trial received extraordinary attention in Israel, where much of it was broadcast live on state radio (the country's only radio station at the time), which functioned, in the words of media expert Elihu Katz, as Israel's "tribal campfire." The state radio supplemented its live broadcasts with follow-ups and daily and weekly summaries and comments. For most of Israel's Jewish population, the trial provided a rite of passage, imbuing them with the sense that they were all, in a way, Holocaust survivors and that another Holocaust might be imminent. Had it not been for the Eichmann trial, Zertal suggests, Israelis might not have seen the 1967 war as an "existential threat" of Holocaust proportions but as a secular war over disputed land.

The trial also attracted considerable attention abroad. Hundreds of foreign reporters descended on Jerusalem to cover the remarkable story. (Adding to the drama—and raising questions about the trial's legality—was the fact that the accused had been kidnapped in Argentina by the Israeli secret service, and that the Israeli law was invoked retroactively.) Among these reporters the best-known was the political philosopher Hannah Arendt, who had recently achieved fame for her 1951 tome *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. A

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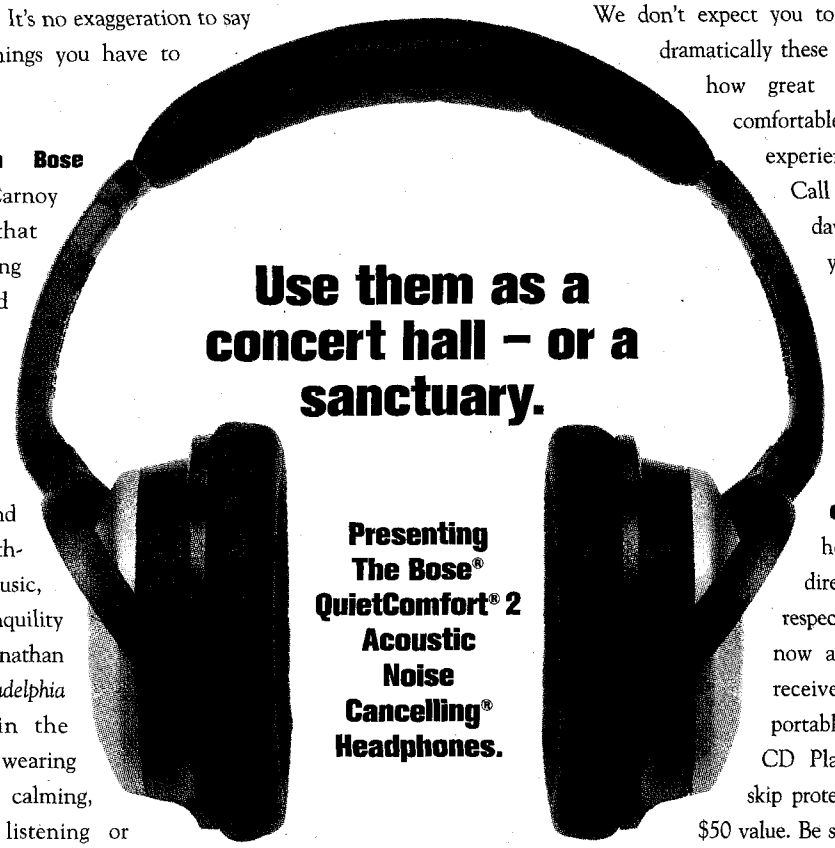

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German Jew who had studied under Heidegger (with whom she had a brief affair), Arendt had a long, troubled relationship with the Jewish state. In her early 20s she was a Zionist. In the 1940s, as she became a critic of any form of nationalism, she drew close to the tiny Brit Shalom movement, which espoused an Arab-Jewish binational state in Palestine. In 1945 she published an article titled "Zionism Reconsidered"—which forecast most of the wrongdoings of Zionism while still demonstrating a deep emotional and intellectual concern for the future of Israel and its people.

Arendt arrived in Jerusalem as a reporter for *The New Yorker*, but her interest in the trial went far beyond that of a foreign correspondent. She saw the trial as an opportunity to re-examine her thesis about the uniqueness and modernity of the Nazi regime and to find answers to the enigmatic question of how it was possible to implement the Final Solution so easily and efficiently. Elaborating on an argument in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, she asserted that the bureaucratization and rationalization of the nation-state made possible a new, industrialized kind of mass murder. Sitting at his desk in a sterile office, organizing the logistics of properly managing transportation and extermination camps, Eichmann was, in her view, a symptom of the "banality of evil" rather than a prime mover in the Nazi machinery of organized killing.

As the Arendt scholar Jerome Kohn has argued in an illuminating essay, one of the major reasons for the controversy provoked by her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*

> was and remains the failure of many readers, both Jews and non-Jews, to make the tremendous mental effort required to transcend the fate of one's own people and see what was pernicious for all humanity. The notion of a "crime against humanity" was introduced in the Nuremberg trials of major war criminals in 1946, but in Arendt's opinion the crime was confused there with "crimes against peace" and "war crimes" and had never been properly defined nor its perpetrators clearly recognized.

In Arendt's view, the Nazi genocide, while "perpetrated upon the body of the Jewish people," was a crime that "violated the order of mankind." What stood out for her as a political philosopher was less "the choice of victims" than the extraordinary "nature of the crime."

Unlike some Israeli-Jewish intellectuals, such as Judah Magnes and Martin Buber, Arendt did not object to the trial being held in Jerusalem. She did not argue for an international court, nor did she oppose the capital sentence. She did, however, object to Attorney General Hausner's understanding of Jewish history, and of the nature of Nazism as a form of genocidal anti-Semitism. In his opening speech, Hausner presented Jewish history as a narrative of eternal victimization. Far from being an unprecedented program of mass industrialized killing, the Holocaust was discussed as if it were merely an immense pogrom. The effect of Hausner's speech, in Arendt's view, was to define Zionism and Israeli nationalism as the only guarantors of Jewish survival and continuity. She also objected to the ideologically motivated characterization of Eichmann as the incarnation of the ultimate evil. Arendt in no way sought to diminish the magnitude of Eichmann's crimes. But with her concept of the banality of evil, she sought to underscore the bureaucratic machinery in which Eichmann was a cog (however enthusiastic), and without which he could never have committed his crimes.

At the Eichmann trial, Israel's Attorney General, Gideon Hausner, discussed the Holocaust as if it were merely an immense pogrom.

However, Arendt did not believe that the rise of the nation-state and its bureaucratization sufficed as an explanation of the Nazi genocide. More controversially, she also turned to an examination of the social structure of the Jewish communities and the nature of their leadership and representatives. Drawing upon Raul Hilberg's exhaustive research in *The Destruction of the European Jews* (a book that has never been translated into Hebrew and is not quoted in Israel), she provided an unsparing anatomy of the ways in which the European Jewish communities facilitated Nazi purposes—for example, by providing lists and addresses of their members and their property. She also analyzed the ways in which most of the Jewish leadership consciously collaborated with the Nazis. Law-abiding to a fault, they filled out endless forms (about their property), policed themselves, funded the "project of resettlement," went to the concentration points and entered the trains of "resettlement," while most of their leaders were fully aware of the railroad destination. The Nazi officers and clerks were surprised at how obediently the Jews went to their death.

Thus, the Kastner case cannot be considered as an isolated one, but should be seen as part of a syndrome that characterized both Eastern and Western organized Jewish communities. As Arendt pointed out, in cities where the Jews were less tightly organized, or where the leadership warned the population or refused to collaborate with the Nazis, many more Jews survived. Had the Nazis been forced to hunt individuals or families, they would have needed more time and manpower to accomplish their mission. By a uniquely cruel twist of fate, what had been for generations a vehicle of Jewish survival became, in the hands of their enemies, one of the major tools for their physical annihilation. Contrary to Arendt's often vituperative critics, this analysis does not reduce the perpetrators' responsibility—if anything, it makes the Holocaust even more monstrous.

Eichmann in Jerusalem sparked "a civil war...among New York intellectuals," as Irving Howe recalled in his memoirs. Writing in the *New York Times Book Review*, the noted historian Barbara Tuchman accused Arendt of seeking to aid in Eichmann's defense, despite the fact that her book was published only after Eichmann's execution. According to Zertal, in the mid-1960s alone more than a thousand articles and books were published in response to Arendt—most of them in the spirit of Tuchman's attack. Arendt's descriptions of Eichmann's pettiness struck many American Jewish readers as a coded apologia for his behavior; her discussions of trial evidence regarding Jewish collaborators, as well as of non-Zionist Jews and their role in the resistance, were widely seen as attempts to blame the Jews for the Holocaust and to undermine the Zionist cause. A refugee from Hitler's Germany, Arendt found herself subjected to a vehement campaign of vilification by the Anti-Defamation League and other Jewish organizations, and denounced as a self-hating Jew, an anti-Semite and even a Nazi.

In Israel, by contrast, the language barrier insulated most of the population from Arendt's heterodox ideas. Few Israelis were aware of intellectual controversies beyond the country's borders, unless they passed through the filters of the local intelligentsia. Although *Eichmann in Jerusalem* was translated into Hebrew by the Israeli thinker Boas Evron soon after its publication, it was not published in Israel for almost four decades, and even today none of Arendt's other work is available in Hebrew.

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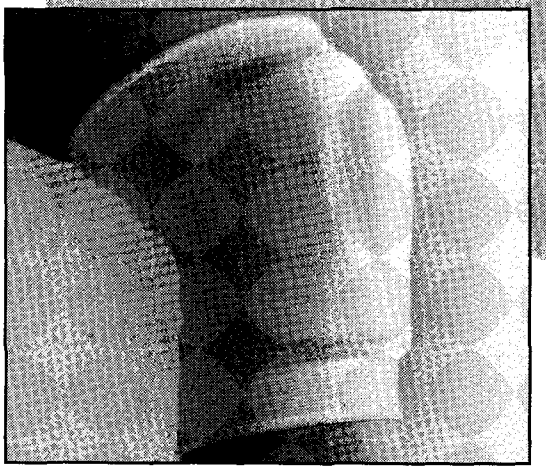

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This state of affairs did not protect her from attacks in the Hebrew press. Shortly after the publication of *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Gershom Scholem, the distinguished scholar of Jewish mysticism, wrote an open letter in the Hebrew daily *Davar* accusing Arendt of lacking *ahavat Israel*—"love for the Jewish people." In her reply, published in *Encounter*, she explained that the notion of allegiance to a group—particularly one to which she would be bound by birth—was highly suspicious to her, since it is rooted in self-interest. Her love, Arendt sharply remarked, was reserved for her friends. In her political commitments, she professed a "love of humanity" and not of a distinct people. Scholem and Arendt agreed to publish their exchange, and indeed both letters were printed in a book, but not in Hebrew. Thus, Hebrew-speaking readers only had the opportunity to read Scholem's criticism of a book that was not available to them and, unless they read English, they had no access to the author's response. In *Death and the Nation*, Zertal presents, for the first time in Hebrew, considerable portions of Arendt's letter to Scholem.

One striking effort of the attorney general during Eichmann's trial was to equate the Arabs with the Nazis. This was achieved by inflating the role of Haj Amin al-Husseini, the prominent Palestinian political and religious leader (chairman of the Supreme Muslim Council and the mufti of Jerusalem) in the extermination of the Jews. In 1937, a year after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, the British tried to arrest Husseini, among other Arab rebels, in the hope of quelling the uprising. Husseini escaped to Fascist Italy and then to Germany, where he offered his services to Hitler. There is no doubt that he saw in Nazi Germany an important ally against Zionism and, in at least one case, he tried to intervene to prevent the rescue of 10,000 Jewish children to Palestine. Husseini probably knew and approved of the Nazi plan to annihilate the Jewish people and hoped to receive a proper position in "liberated Palestine." He helped the Nazis form a collaborationist Muslim brigade in Bosnia, and to broadcast propaganda to the Arab world. However, the argument that he was a chief adviser to the Nazis on the "solution of the Jewish problem"—an argument on prominent display at Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Museum—is preposterous. The Germans did not need Husseini's advice and in fact scorned the non-Aryan religious cleric.

Since then, however, "the mufti" has become one of the major assets of pro-Israel propaganda. The argument was and is as follows: The Arabs do not accept the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, therefore they are anti-Semites who want to annihilate all the Jews and to accomplish the Nazi program—the best example being the mufti's alliance with Nazi Germany. This social construction of reality ignores not only the complexity and the fundamentally different basis of the Israeli-Arab conflict but also some inconvenient historical facts. One such fact is that while assisting the Nazis, the mufti lost almost all his influence over the Palestinian Arabs, which he never regained. Another is that during the 1930s and '40s Palestine was the only country in the region (and perhaps in the whole world) where no Nazi party or organization was established. During the 1930s, some Arab, as well as some Jewish, leaders expressed admiration for fascist regimes, but this was before the racist bases of these regimes became clear. It was only much later that Arabs borrowed anti-Semitic literature and motifs from the Europeans and used them in their propaganda.

The casualness with which Israeli Jews accuse one another of Nazi-like behavior is a measure of the coarsening of political attitudes.

It's true, of course, that the native Palestinian Arabs, as well as the Arabs of the region, did not like or welcome the European Jews who colonized Palestine. They perceived the Jewish claims of ownership over the land based on a distant and ambiguous past and on some holy scriptures as unjust and ridiculous. They opposed this colonization with all the means at their disposal, sometimes with indiscriminate violence and terror. The confrontation between Arab and Jew in Palestine was a conflict of mutually exclusive interests, much like any other ethno-national conflict. To be sure, there were some racist undertones and expressions on both sides. But it is dangerously misleading to regard the Arab resistance against the Jewish presence and the gradual conquest of the land as an expression of historical anti-Semitism. Ironically, the Zionist effort to "Nazify" the Arabs—a strategy that began in the 1940s—ends up diminishing the extraordinary genocidal crimes committed by Nazi Germany.

Zertal cogently demonstrates how a social construction of a "second coming Holocaust" was built before and during the wars of 1948 and 1967 for the mobilization of domestic public opinion, world Jewry and Western nations. In fact, this campaign of fear directly contradicted the Zionist dogma asserting that a Jewish state in Palestine would insure Jewish security (and normalize Jewish existence). This inherent paradox was ironically expressed by Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, who referred to the Jewish state as *Shimshon der Nebedicher* (in Yiddish "the Wretched Samson"), the mighty military superpower that considers itself a victim. By invoking the Holocaust as a catastrophe whose repetition had to be avoided by any means (such as Abba Eban's famous definition of the Green Line as "Auschwitz borders"), Israeli leaders unburdened themselves of almost any moral restrictions, or even obedience to internal and international laws, whether it came to the making of nuclear weapons (with France's assistance and America's tacit acceptance), the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza or the invasion of Lebanon. Faced with political problems, Israel saw only existential threats. Once the Palestinian national movement was defined as a mortal threat to Jewish survival, any response to it, from the demolition of homes to the bombing of refugee camps, could be justified as legitimate self-defense.

The worst abuses of the Holocaust in Israel, however, have occurred in the midst of debates between Jews, particularly the controversies around the territories occupied in 1967. The frequency and casualness with which Israeli Jews accuse one another of Nazi-like or anti-Semitic behavior today is a disturbing measure of the coarsening of the country's political culture.

The example of such invective best-known outside Israel was the left-wing philosopher Yeshayahu Leibovitz's description of settlers as "Judeo-Nazis." More common and far more dangerous, however, has been the abuse of the Holocaust by the Israeli right wing. As Zertal points out, almost every Israeli politician who has tried to make peace with the Arabs has been likened to Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister who tried to avoid the Second World War by appeasing Hitler, or as a "Nazi" whose secret desire is nothing less than the annihilation of the Jewish people. Any "concession" to the Arabs signals, in these terms, the destruction of Israel, the end of Zionism and the end of the Jewish people. Another symbol often seen at right-wing demonstrations is the yellow Star of David, the single most emotive symbol of Jewish victimization. If Ariel Sharon

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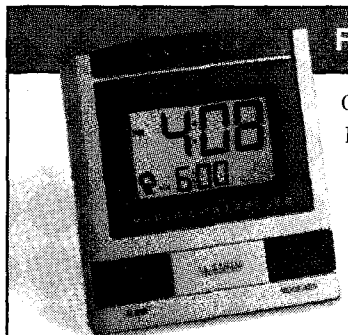

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is Israel's prime minister today, it is in large part because of this right-wing campaign of vilification against supporters of a negotiated peace with the Palestinian people. Now, it seems, it is his turn to be demonized as his proposed evacuation from the Gaza Strip settlements comes to be labeled as a process aimed at making the Land of Israel *judenrein*—i.e., cleansed of Jews.

In October 1995 Sharon, Benjamin Netanyahu and the late Rafael Eitan attended a rally in Jerusalem organized by the extremist right-wing organizations Chabad and Zu Artzenu. The assembled mob called for the deaths of the "Oslo criminals" Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Cabinet minister Shimon Peres, calling them the "Judenrat." One month later Rabin was shot dead by Yigal Amir, a religious nationalist youth who hoped to stop the implementation of the Oslo Accords. Rabin's assassination was the culmination of months of unprecedented incitement and violent demonstrations against the accords and the prime minister himself, who was blamed for betraying the idea of a Greater Israel. At right-wing rallies protesters held up posters depicting Rabin in an SS uniform. Opposition leaders played a major role in these incitements by using an unrestrained rhetoric of blood, land and treason.

"Never forget" has been the mantra of Jewish and Israeli politics for three decades. But in *Death and the Nation*, Idith Zertal argues, daringly and I think rightly, that one can "remember too much." The obsessive commemoration of the Holocaust and of Jewish victimhood has blinded much of the Jewish community to Israel's real position in the world and to the humanity of the Palestinian people. The result has been to make ever more distant a reasonable political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is the victory of death over life, of the past over the future. To be sure, there are periods in the history of a nation when ultimate sacrifices are necessary, and a cult of death unavoidable. The question in Israel today is whether this heroic period has come to an end or whether the prevailing ideology of the 1948 war will last another hundred years, until the entire "Land of Israel" is "liberated." To choose the former option is to grant priority to the lives of Israel's citizens, Jewish and Arab. To choose the latter is to remain a community of victims, joined in a mythical communion of Jewish sacrifice in an eternally hostile gentile world. Tragically, most of the organized American Jewish community seems to prefer the mythic option, a course that can only lead to disaster. ■

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JODY ROSEN

EMINEM

Several weeks ago the 32-year-old hip-hop superstar Eminem, America's staunchest and most spectacular amoralist, found himself in an unusual position, suddenly cast as the moral hope of his generation. The occasion was the release, just days before the presidential election, of "Mosh," a torrid anti-Bush protest single that endeared the rapper to the sort of older blue-state listeners whose musical taste runs more to James Taylor than 50 Cent, and who would otherwise have steered clear of a man known for his extravagant political incorrectness. Here was an Eminem song that a *Nation* charter subscriber could love: "No more blood for oil, we got our own battles to fight on our own soil," Eminem bellows over a glum piano line and a martial beat. "No more psychological warfare, to trick us to thinking that we ain't loyal."

This brutishly effective piece of musical agitprop was accompanied by an animated video, directed by Ian Inaba of the activist group Guerrilla News Network, which concluded with images of a black-hooded Eminem leading a youthful throng on a march to voter registration tables. The video shot to the top of MTV's countdown and spread like wildfire over the Internet; for a few days Air America buzzed with hopeful talk of an "Eminem factor" in the upcoming election. But for some of us who found the idea that Eminem could deliver swing-state votes farfetched, "Mosh" held

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another kind of promise. The rapper's previous album, *The Eminem Show* (2002), had been a mess. Might the forthcoming *Encore* mark a return to form?

Well, let's just say it's been a dispiriting autumn all around. *Encore*, which arrived in stores nine days after Kerry's concession, has a strong claim to being the worst blockbuster record of 2004. It's dreary, it's plodding and, what's worse, it plods drearily at epic length. *Encore* is seventy-seven minutes and twenty songs long (a bonus disc adds three additional tunes, rounding the running time up to a neat hour and a half), and every song is buried under an avalanche of words. Eminem has always been prolix, but on earlier records like *The Slim Shady LP* (1999) and *The Marshall Mathers LP* (2000) his lyrics whizzed past in a blur of rhythm and wit. *Encore*, though, simply drags; for all the words spoken here—a torrent of pop culture references, invective and potty humor—you can't help feeling that this talented motormouth has run out of things to say.

And he knows it. "I don't even gotta make no god damn sense/I just did a whole song and I didn't say shit," Eminem raps at the conclusion of "Rain Man," the album's clomping centerpiece song. It's an amazingly cynical boast—*I don't even gotta make no god damn sense*—a veritable caricature of superstar complacency; but one listen through *Encore* will dispel any doubts that he's serious about his devotion to nonsense. Several songs are hitched to infantile sing-song choruses that dissolve into a patter of gibberish. ("Da doing doing doing"; "poo poo ka ka"; "Oh ah ah ah oh ah"; etc.) Then there's "My 1st Single," a song that glories in its own meaninglessness. "This was supposed to be my first single/But I just fucked that off," Eminem raps. "Hey! So fuck a chicken, lick a chicken suck a chicken, beat a chicken/Eat a chicken, like it's a big cock, big a big cock." These lyrics are delivered over a jittery beat, punctuated by farting and belching sound effects, in a voice that occasionally squawks in imitation of a chicken—none of which, I can assure you, makes them any more amusing on a CD than in the pages of a journal of politics and ideas.

Such tin-eared attempts at humor would be annoying on any record; but they're especially depressing coming from Eminem, who has made some of the best comic art of the past decade. When he burst on the scene in the late 1990s, Eminem was a novel character: a self-proclaimed "white trash" rapper, up from a hardscrabble Midwestern childhood, who courted scandal with a fervor that was equal parts Johnny Rotten

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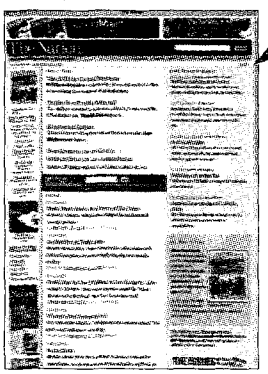

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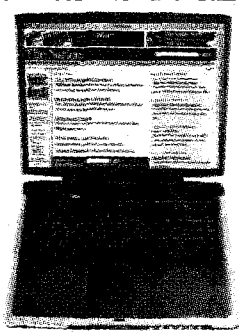

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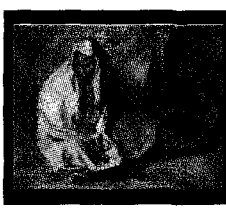
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and Bart Simpson. His words were as profane as any gangsta rapper's, but he preferred self-mockery (and self-loathing) to the usual braggadocio. And he was an incredibly fluid and witty rhymer. (No less a poet than Seamus Heaney has extolled Eminem's "verbal energy.") His best songs collapsed pop-culture parody, cartoon violence and personal confession into a nearly continuous string of punch lines. Consider his 1999 debut single, "My Name Is":

> Hi kids, do you like violence?
> Wanna see me stick nine inch nails through each one of my eyelids?
> Wanna copy me and do exactly like I did?
> Try 'cid and get fucked up worse than my life is?
> My brain's dead weight, I'm trying to get my head straight
> But I can't figure out which Spice Girl I want to impregnate…
> Well, since age twelve, I've felt like I'm someone else
> Cause I hung my original self from the top bunk with a belt…
> I'm steaming mad
> And by the way, when you see my Dad
> Tell him that I slit his throat, in this dream I had

These lines are buoyed by a sneaky little bass and electric piano figure, an appropriately slippery soundtrack for the trickster who speaks them. Is that speaker Eminem? Slim Shady? Marshall Mathers? The rapper has constantly flitted among alter egos, defying efforts to pin him down. His songs have reveled in contradictions and cognitive dissonances. He's set horrific tales of drug overdoses, chainsaw murders and matricide to a jubilant beat. He's juxtaposed cartoonish fantasy with the most painful and revealing details of his childhood deprivations and wrecked marriage. He's laid traps for listeners, frustrating our sense of decency by making us laugh at violence and misogyny. ("Hillary Clinton tried to slap me and call me a pervert/I ripped her fuckin' tonsils out and fed her sherbet.") His rage is unrelenting, implacable and ecumenical, encompassing everyone from Britney Spears to Lynne Cheney, "faggots" to homophobes, bosses who slighted him in his wage-slave days to magazine editors who dissed him when he was a millionaire. And then there are his favorite targets, his mother and ex-wife, the subjects of a series of attack songs that can politely be called sociopathic. Repellent? Sure, but so is a lot of art (see Céline, or Tarantino), and it's hard to argue with Eminem's artistry. Like all the best MCs, he has a distinctive way of syncopating his speech over a beat, packing verses thick with interior rhymes and hammering away at tricky vocal rhythms for minutes on end. Above all, there is the thrill of the language itself, the little poetic jolts and moments of surprise that great hip-hop supplies: Just where, and when, will the next rhyme land? Did he really just rhyme "antelope" and "can't elope"?

Eminem's revenge fantasies have always been linked to his acute sense of victimhood, and on his first album—fresh out of a Detroit trailer park, shouldering a lifetime's worth of underclass resentment—he had lots of material to work with. When the multiplatinum success of *The Slim Shady LP* deprived him of his seemingly most potent theme ("They said I can't rap about being broke no more," began album number two, *The Marshall Mathers LP*), he assumed the role of embattled cultural outlaw and reluctant star, producing some riveting music, including perhaps his best song, "Stan," about a crazed fan. But on Eminem's third CD, *The Eminem Show*, the Superstar Agonistes routine was getting old; and as the public became accustomed to Eminem's shtick, his ability to stir outrage waned, leaving him starved for new enemies. The result was an increasingly shrill and stolid batch of songs that nonetheless sold a cool 8 million–plus copies.

Encore may equal those sales figures, but it's an even more dismal affair. Eminem sounds like a man who is bored with himself. His once pugnacious delivery has slowed to a lazy slur. The backing tracks have turned dour; nearly every song sets a minor-key synthesizer tune against a staccato drumbeat that nudges things along at medium tempo. Part of the problem is that Eminem is now producing most of his music himself, taking over from his vastly more musically gifted mentor, Dr. Dre.

But nowhere is the torpor more evident than in Eminem's lyrics. Fresh out of inspiration, he's fallen back on his tics: taking aim at easy targets like Michael Jackson, savaging his mom and his ex-, resorting to potty-mouth talk (sample song titles: "Big Weenie," "Puke"). The album's biggest clunker is "Ass Like That," in which Eminem impersonates Triumph the Insult Comic Dog, a puppet character from the *Late Night With Conan O'Brien* show, with whom the rapper had a celebrated contretemps during a televised awards ceremony. (You can't make this stuff up.) It's not exactly clear what Eminem is on about in this song, which jump-cuts wildly from dirty lyrics about underage pop stars to sniggling about "pee pees." Like the bath-

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room noises and chicken clucking heard elsewhere on *Encore*, it makes no goddamn sense; it all seems like a desperate stab at absurdist comedy, an attempt to pass off a nasty case of writer's block as an outré new aesthetic.

There are a couple of moments on *Encore* when Eminem plays it straight, and these may offer clues to the deeper roots of his malaise. "Yellow Brick Road" and "Like Toy Soldiers" are elaborate apologias, revolving around Eminem's various "beefs," or feuds, with fellow rappers. The most notorious of these involves Raymond "Benzino" Scott, a middling MC and CEO of *The Source*, a prominent hip-hop magazine. For several years, Benzino has waged a war of words with Eminem—on records, in interviews and in the pages of *The Source*—slighting his music, calling him a racist and accusing him of diluting the racial purity of hop-hop culture. Benzino's rather unsavory propaganda campaign has earned him few supporters in the rap community, but he has persisted nonetheless, and he pulled off something of a coup earlier this year when he unearthed a couple of old Eminem demo tapes, recorded more than a decade ago, in which the rapper poured scorn on black women. (The songs were included on a special CD folded into *The Source*'s February 2004 issue.)

In the past, Eminem hit back at Benzino on bootleg "battle tracks," but on *Encore* he strikes a conciliatory posture. "Yellow Brick Road" apologizes for the racist recordings ("I was wrong") in an intricate autobiographical narrative that is by far the album's best bit of storytelling. "Like Toy Soldiers," meanwhile, seems to forswear battling altogether: "I'm just willing to be the bigger man if y'all can quit poppin'/Off at the jaws with the knockin', well then I can, 'cause frankly I'm sick of talkin'." These songs have led more than one reviewer to invoke the notion of a newly "mature" Eminem.

But has the creator of "Big Weenie" really grown up? Or does he simply not have the stomach for a fair fight? One of the more curious aspects of *Encore* is that while Eminem endlessly insults women, including a shooting gallery of the most harmless pop divas (Jessica Simpson, Paris Hilton, the Olsen Twins), and merrily stokes his "feud" with a hand puppet, he shies away from conflicts with the men who are—at least according to the hip-hop ethos that lets no dis go unanswered—legitimate foes.

In fact, Eminem seems constitutionally incapable of partaking in hip-hop's most venerable traditions. When's the last time he recorded a song devoted to the MC's traditional ur-subject, his own rapping excellence? When did Eminem last roll tape and simply let the rhymes flow, without straining to shock us? The persona that made Eminem so original a few years ago has generated its own clichés; it may be time for him to drop the endless pursuit of *succès de scandale* and join Jay-Z, Nas, Jadakiss and other elite MCs in their friendly contest for rhyme pre-eminence—time, in other words, to become a regular old rapper. It's not quite as sexy a job title as Great Satan, but it's noble work, and the pay is good. ■

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WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

MANCHESTER, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. Call Gary at (860) 498-4486 after 6:30 PM. Planning to meet on the last Sunday of every month.

ST. LOUIS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP NOW forming. Please contact Mary at (314) 352-5155.

SAN JOSE, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Please contact Lawrence Bryan for further information. Call (408) 294-1073 or e-mail sjnation@yahoogroups.com.

WHEELING, WV, *NATION* STUDY GROUP FORMING: This ad is legitimate and not a joke. Contact Dianne Burnham, (304) 232-0590.

CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

JOIN THE BALTIMORE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. For more information please contact Justin S. Hill, (410) 235-2917, or drshill@bellatlantic.net.

LAS VEGAS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Contact Harold Barling, (702) 736-6905, for more information.

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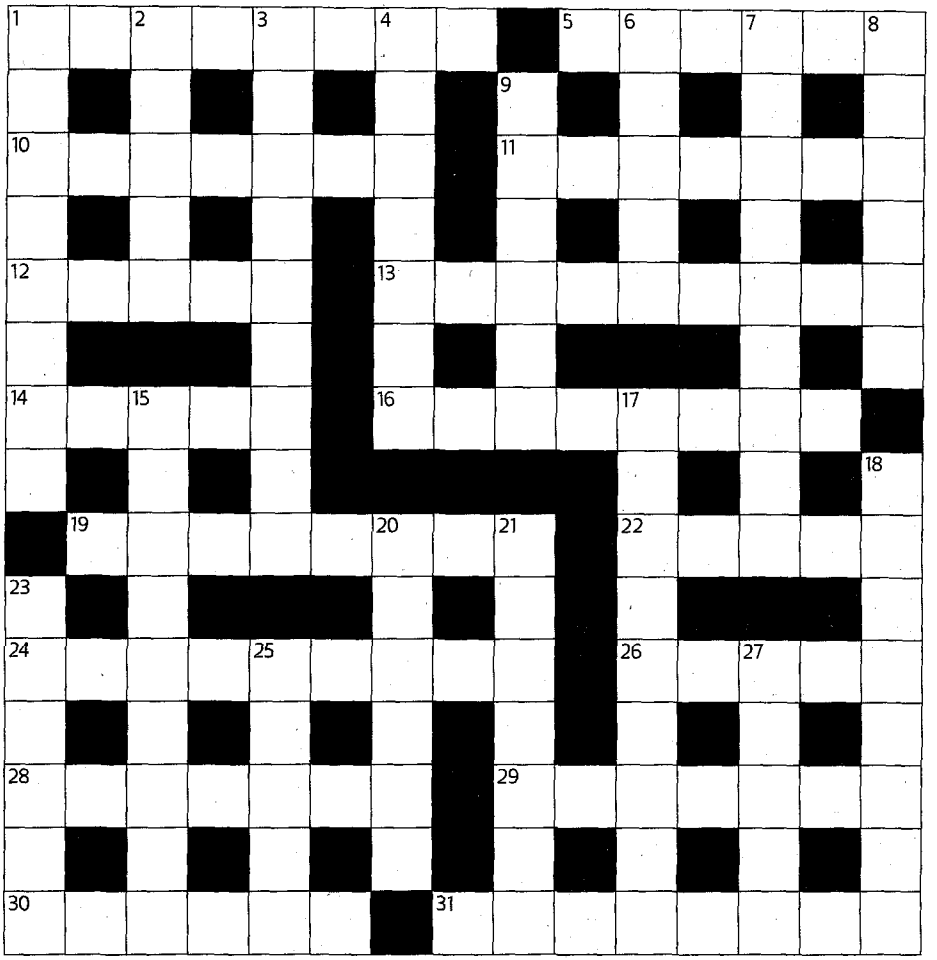

ACROSS

1 and **5** A cliché concerning a source of water, as clothes are in bad shape, but about right, nevertheless. (4-4,6)

10 As is implied to you and me, he was a great historian. (7)

11 Put something in the pot, and put a sort of it around everything else, in the beginning. (5,2)

12 So, be a hot showing of what people find charming about the Caribbean. (5)

13 It may earn a half-dozen points, but the plane has to do it in the field. (9)

14 Even a bad poet can be found about a number in time. (5)

16 and **19** See 23 down

22 Sounds like Father at New Year's might be found in the garden. (5)

24 A guiding light for many, being a correlative that's wrong, but ends up right. (5,4)

26 If it ain't this, they say not to fix it without money. (5)

28 With ill repute, a precarious position. (2,1,4)

29 What the one pulling the cart did, possibly, heeding the change necessary. (7)

30 and **31** With mosquitoes around in the summer, one may be both. (3,3,8)

DOWN

1 and **6** How the hiker gets stranded? No problem! (This magazine loses a columnist?) (7,1,5)

2 Supposedly filthy stuff we wouldn't mind having. (5)

3 What some go to the track to do, good ones being on guard. (5-4)

4 Breaking up the store, at a place connected with tongue-to-tongue transfer. (7)

6 See 1 down

7 There's a lot of work involved this way! (9)

8 At one time quiet, and a way to stretch out. (6)

9 Coolidge brought up one in the Spanish manner, being the missing part. (6)

15 Mister, can you possibly get the villain out of it? (9)

17 What the Constitution did to justice? (9)

18 Pulled back, one hears, with what the lawn possibly got. (8)

20 Not safe to be allowed, like many a big store. (6)

21 A couple called inside a place in Mexico or Colorado. (7)

23, and **19** and **16** across Sufficiency equal to a piled-up board? (6,2,2,4,2,1,5)

25 What belongs to the lady doesn't take off like a bird! (5)

27 Not this one, alternatively around a middling article. (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2969

S	P	R	I	N	G	I	N	T	H	E	A	I	R	
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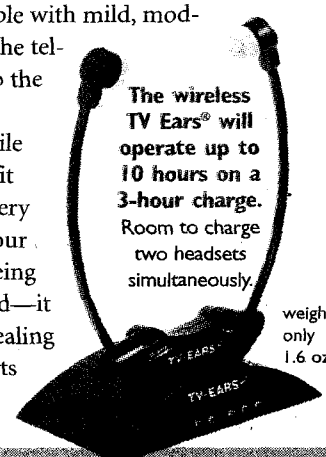

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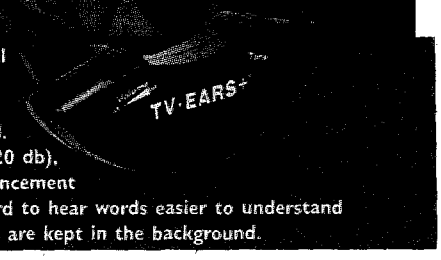

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